FRENCH JANSENISTS

FIDELIS USQUE AD MORTEM

1893

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FRENCH JANSENISTS.

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BY THE AUTHOR OF

"MANY VOICES" AND "SPANISH MYSTICS."

'En un cadre réduit, Port-Royal a vu se déployer des caractères dont la trempe n'à pas été surpassée. . . . L'arène du combat peut sembler étroite; mais les âmes sont grandes.'

'L'effort vaut mieux que le résultat.'

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GREAT BRITAIN.

TO

THE FAITHFUL FRIEND OF MY YOUTH AND AGE,

GEORGIANA MAURICE,

WIDOW OF

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE,

This Volume

IS

GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

In the seventeenth century the name of 'Jansenist' was a term of reproach given to the Port-Royalists by their adversaries, because they defended the religious opinions held by Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres.

But the noble characters of these 'so-called' Jansenists, their high standard of morality, and the unjust persecution which they endured, have cast a halo round the name, and French Jansenists have gained that sympathy and respect which genius, learning, and purity of life must, sooner or later, command.

I have sought in these pages to gather together some of the thoughts and sayings of the leading Jansenists, and to give in each case a sketch of their lives.

MARGUERITE TOLLEMACHE.

Easter, 1893.

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FRENCH JANSENISTS.

CORNELIUS JANSEN.

B. 1585. D. 1638.

'By grace ye are saved. When thou hearest by grace, understand gratis. If then gratis, thou hast brought nothing of thine own—hast merited nothing. For if anything is repaid to merit, it is reward, not grace. By grace ye are saved, through faith.'—ST. AUGUSTINE.

JANSEN, or Jansenius, was born at Accoy, a village near Leerdam in Holland. He was the child of humble parents—so humble indeed that he possessed no surname—his father being known only as Jan Ottosen, or Jan the son of Otto, and Jansenius himself simply as Cornelius Jansen, or the son of Jan. Little is recorded of his early life beyond that this son of a peasant studied both at Utrecht and at Louvain, and at this last University was so distinguished for his scholarship that at seventeen years of age he was publicly declared 'the first student of his year.'[1]

For some years before Jansen's appearance at Louvain religious controversy had been rife in the University. The Chancellor Baius, who had died when Jansen was four years old, had been an ardent admirer of the writings of St. Augustine, and some of the opinions he had expressed on the doctrine of free grace had drawn upon him the suspicion

[1] See Beard's 'Port-Royal.'

of heresy, his chief opponent being Lessius, a Jesuit, who was regarded by Baius in the light of a Semi-Pelagian. The writings of both had been censured, but the scattered seed sown by Baius yielded fruit an hundredfold in the succeeding generation.

Jansen was naturally weak in constitution. His health soon gave way from over-study, and in his twenty-first year he was recommended to leave the Netherlands and travel to recruit his strength. He found his way to Paris, where he met an old acquaintance and fellow-student of the University of Louvain; this was Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, afterwards Abbé de Saint-Cyran, and the first apostle of Jansenism in France.

The young men had kindred tastes, and a close intimacy sprang up between them in spite of the difference which existed in their worldly position. Jansen's means being scanty, his friend procured for him a tutorship in a French family, which enabled him to prolong his stay in Paris. The two friends spent much of their spare time together, studying Greek and Hebrew, Philosophy and Theology.

But after five years the health of Jansen obliging him to quit Paris, his friend proposed that they should adjourn together to the south of France, where they established themselves in a small house by the seaside in the neighbourhood of Bayonne.

They resolved to live a life of strict seclusion, and to have but one object in their studies and meditations—the pursuit of religious truth. This renunciation of the world at an age when its honours and preferments have so much attraction, carries back the mind to St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, likewise close friends and fellow-students, who retired in the fulness of their fame from Cæsarea, and took refuge together in the mountains of Pontus, that they might

without interruption draw near to God, and meditate on His truth. But, as has been playfully remarked, 'Whereas Gregory wrote poetry in his hours of recreation, Jansen and du Vergier played battledore, the one diversion they permitted themselves!'

Theology had become both to Jansen and du Vergier the absorbing interest of their life; their leisure hours in Paris had been spent in attempts to master the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and others of the Schoolmen; they now determined to put aside these works and devote themselves to the study of St. Augustine, the great authority to whom the Schoolmen professed to bow down.

They sought *truth* for its own sake, and reverently prayed for Divine light and guidance.[1] For six years they together pored over the pages of the great Latin father; they studied and re-studied them ten times over. It is even asserted that the passages relating to the Pelagian controversy were carefully examined by Jansen as many as thirty times; and so eager was he to acquaint himself with the teaching of St. Augustine respecting original sin and free grace, that he is said to have wished 'that he could follow like the cranes in the sun's track, and pursue his reading where the days were longest.'

To both the friends justification by faith became the cardinal point of religion—the corner-stone of the system afterwards styled 'Jansenism.' The doctrines of Pelagianism, and especially of Semi-Pelagianism, filled the Church, and had become the Christianity of the day. The fall of man and redemption through Christ were no longer primary doctrines in the schools, and Jansen and du Vergier felt that

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[1] When Jansen was asked which attribute of God impressed him the most, he replied, 'Truth;' and he was often overheard saying to himself with a deep sigh, 'O Truth, Truth!'

what was needed was a return to primitive truth and a clearer faith in the Divinity of Christ.[1] The controversy which their teaching awoke in the Church was, in fact, but a revival of the old dispute of the fifth century between St. Augustine and Pelagius.

It was whilst dwelling together in this house by the sea-side that the great work of Jansen was planned and commenced with the assistance of du Vergier—the book which was to bring down such a storm of invectives, and to which, as clearly setting forth the doctrines of St. Augustine, he gave the name of the 'Augustinus.' Both were conscious of the fierce opposition which it was likely to excite, 'especially with regard to grace, sin, and forgiveness; doctrines which had degenerated into mere traditional formulæ, but which Jansen in his book had restored to their rightful position and efficacy.'[2] The two friends foresaw the personal danger they must incur by the publication of the 'Augustinus,' but the conscience of Jansen would not permit him to falter in proclaiming what he held to be truth. Neither could foresee that a book designed to be a compendium of Christian truth would lead to a century of battle in the Christian Church.

The seclusion of the two young men was at last broken up by the Bishop of Bayonne,[3] who, knowing their worth,

[1] See Ranke's 'History of the Popes' (Jansenists). See also Dr. Neale's 'History of the So-called Jansenist Church.' 'In the "Augustinus,"' Dr. Neale says, 'Jansen endeavoured to restore the theology of the seventeenth century to the doctrine of that Saint who has always been regarded as *the* Doctor of Grace—Augustine.'

[2] See Ranke's 'History of the Popes' (Jansenists).

[3] This Bishop of Bayonne (Bertrand Descheaux) became in 1616 Archbishop of Tours in succession to Etienne Galigaï, who resigned the dignity and fled from France with other Italians after the assassination of Concini, Maréchal d'Ancre, and the execution of his innocent wife, Leonora, the sister of Archbishop Galigaï. She was looked upon by the ignorant multitude as a sorceress, the belief in magic being at that time so intense that all disasters were attributed to it. Leonora's increasing influence over the

desired that their talents should no longer be hidden, but should be actively employed for the benefit of the Church. In obedience to his orders, the two friends parted in 1617; du Vergier went to Poitiers and Jansen returned to Louvain, where he became Principal of the College of Pulcheria and Professor of Theology.

There he continued his great task of 'extracting the essence of pure doctrine' from the pages of St. Augustine.

But absorbed as he was in theological study, he must have been credited with some capacity for diplomacy, for he was twice sent to Madrid (Louvain being under Spanish rule) to uphold the claims of the University against the encroachments of the Jesuits, who had opened schools of philosophy and had proceeded to confer degrees—a power to which they had no right. Jansen was so far successful in his mission, that though the Jesuits were permitted to retain their schools, they were required to submit to the University and observe its statutes and rules.[1]

In 1633 France entered into the great struggle known as the Thirty Years' War, taking part with the Protestant princes against the House of Austria. This led to the publication of a book by Jansen, in which, as a sound Catholic, he animadverted on the incongruous policy of Cardinal Richelieu, the French Prime Minister, in persecuting heresy at home and supporting it abroad, and contrasted the orthodoxy of Spain with the inconsistency of Catholic France.

Richelieu, however, cared but little for religious consistency, provided the House of Hapsburg was humbled and

queen-mother, Marie de Medici, the ascendancy of a strong mind over a weak one (as Leonora herself is said to have termed it), was thought to proceed from her use of witchcraft, and her body was burnt as a witch after her execution on the scaffold.

[1] See 'Cardinal de Bérulle and Richelieu,' p. 220.

France exalted. Jansen's work, entitled 'Mars Gallicus,' was much read, and led to his appointment to the Bishopric of Ypres, on the recommendation of Philip IV. of Spain, but it brought upon him and his friends the determined ill-will of the all-powerful Cardinal.

As Bishop of Ypres, Jansen's days were devoted to religious instruction and visitations in his diocese; his nights were divided between prayer and intense study—four hours of sleep being all the repose he permitted himself in the twenty-four.

His friendship with du Vergier de Hauranne (unlike that of St. Basil and St. Gregory) knew no change, though they were separated for long intervals. The hidden life of both with its hopes and aspirations was one and indivisible. St. Augustine was ever to them the true exponent of religious faith, which was, in their eyes, obscured and debased by the casuistical teaching of modern theologians. They corresponded regularly on the subject of the 'Augustinus,' which for twenty years was a work of engrossing interest to them both.

The first effort of Jansen on becoming Bishop in 1636 was directed to the reform of his diocese. The plague, which broke out in Flanders, soon appeared amongst the inhabitants of Ypres; many fled from their homes, but Jansen remained undismayed at his post.[1] He was at the call of all who needed him, and his labours among his people were unremitting. At length he himself fell a victim to the plague,[2] but not before the great work of his life was completed. His last act was one of submission to

[1] See Dom Claude Lancelot's 'Narrative' and 'Angelique Arnauld' (Martin).

[2] It has, however, been denied that the plague was prevalent at that time, and his enemies professed to believe that his death was owing to the Divine malediction.

the Pope; he wrote with his dying hand to Urban VIII., surrendering the 'Augustinus' to his judgment, and praying the Holy Father to revise or rescind any part of the book as he deemed best. In his will Jansen says: 'If the See of Rome should wish anything to be altered, I am her obedient son; I will prove obedient, even on the bed of death, to that Church in which I have always lived.'

Jansen died on the 6th of May 1638 at the age of fifty-three. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Martin at Ypres; but the animosity of his theological opponents pursued the author of the 'Augustinus' even to the grave. His tomb was desecrated. At the present time a flat stone marks the spot where his body lay. The stone is placed in the choir, near the high altar; it bears neither name nor initials. The date of his death, 1638, under a Greek cross, and his shield in the sacristy as seventh Bishop, are the only records of Jansenius now to be seen in his own Cathedral.[1]

The 'Augustinus'—that stupendous work to which he dedicated so many years of toil—fills three bulky volumes. In the first part Jansen describes the heresy of the Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians. In the second he puts forth an exposition of St. Augustine's views on the fall of man and original sin. The third part is devoted to the doctrine of Divine grace.

The malevolence of the Jesuits was especially excited by an appendix to this work, in which Jansen drew a parallel between the heretical views he had described as prevailing in the fifth century and those held by certain modern theologians, such as Lessius and Molina, both being noted members of the Jesuit Society.[2] Strenuous efforts were

[1] Since 1809 the Bishopric of Ypres has been merged in that of Bruges.

[2] *Lessius* has already been named as the opponent of Chancellor Baius at Louvain. *Luis Molina* was a Spanish Jesuit, born in 1535, died

made by the Jesuits to suppress the 'Augustinus' and prevent its publication, but the heads of the University of Louvain would not suffer it to be set aside. They were justly proud of Jansen, and determined to do honour to his work. The first edition was published at Louvain in 1640. It appeared with the sanction of his Catholic Majesty Philip IV. and the Emperor Ferdinand, and its pages were dedicated by permission to the Cardinal Infant, Governor of the Netherlands. Never did any work, we are told, meet with so stormy a reception, and it was the signal for a prolonged contest which agitated the Sorbonne, the Court of Versailles, and the See of Rome.

A second edition was published in Paris the following year and was received with acclamation. Six doctors of the Sorbonne gave it their full approval as a clear definition of the pure doctrine of St. Augustine, but the Papal Nuncio and the Jesuits persisted in their resolve to obtain the condemnation of the book.

The Cardinal Infant was solicited to withdraw his name from the dedication; the power of the Inquisition was invoked; the 'Augustinus' was declared to be full of the errors of Calvin and Luther; whilst on the other hand the supporters of Jansen asserted that 'to condemn the Bishop of Ypres was to condemn the Bishop of Hippo.'

Richelieu decried the book as being by the author of 'Mars Gallicus,' and finally, in 1643, Urban VIII. published a bull condemning certain propositions which the work was supposed to contain.

1600. His work on 'The Compatibility of Free-Will with the Gifts of Grace,' &c., excited grave discussion in the Church. His doctrine was called Molinism, and obtained great ascendancy in France. He was strongly supported by his Order, but his views were combated as *Pelagian*, not only by Jansen, but also by the Dominicans.

Luis Molina must not be confounded with *Michael Molinos*, also a Spaniard, whose followers were called 'Quietists.'

It has been said that the 'Augustinus' has this peculiarity: it was the last Latin theological work which excited a contest in France—a contest which left men unconvinced in judgment, and even uncertain to this day whether or not the condemned propositions are to be found in the book—proving the strange fact that 'no book of its calibre was ever so famous or so little read.'

JEAN DU VERGIER DE HAURANNE.

Abbé de Saint-Cyran.

b. 1581. d. 1643.

'The first streak of light we call day, although the shades of night are not all dispersed: so the first spark of light wherewith God illumines the soul is called grace, although it be still encompassed by the shadows of sin.'

'The deepest rivers make the least noise, and the deepest piety makes the least show.'

'When you have done a kindness, forget it in God.'

'There is no truer humility than to accept the limits which God has prescribed for us, and to make our works, *within those limits, great works.*'

'There is nothing more to be dreaded than to speak of God to others from the memory instead of from the heart.'

'He who has told us not to look back when we have put our hand to the plough, will not look back upon the past sins of one who is seeking His kingdom and righteousness.'

'We may violate the law of temperance in speaking, quite as much as in eating or drinking.'

'Sin came into the world by the tongue. Adam was

innocent before he had talked with his wife, and his wife was innocent before she had talked with the serpent.'

'Each one must serve God in his own condition, and according to the gift and power that he possesses of doing good, without disowning the gift of another which is not his, and which, if he could borrow it, he would probably find as useless as David found the armour of Saul, not being the means by which God willed he should gain the victory.'

'To spend time in counting and lamenting little faults is like a child who has fallen down in running, and who, instead of getting up and running again, stops to cry over his dirty hands, which delays him far more than the fall.'

'Thou mayest kneel before God without words, without anxious self-scrutiny. He will understand thee.'

'We fall first of all *within*, and then *without*.'

'A Christian soul needs flexibility. It ought to know how to pass from rest to labour, from labour to rest, from prayer to action, from action to prayer . . . to be ready to do everything, and to be content to do nothing when (as in time of sickness) the will of God requires it. . . . There is at times great advantage *in a pause*, for when we are hard at work, we may be really in the sight of God doing nothing.'

'Never let prayer interfere with your duty. For God loves mercy rather than sacrifice, and obedience and the performance of our task more than supplication. In the intervals of time, *where* you can and *when* you can, pray always to God; and instead of troubling yourself about especial times of prayer, be content to offer yourself to God again and again through the day.'

'The soul of a Christian cannot remain stationary. It

must at all moments be rising towards heaven or falling towards the earth.'

'A writer should look upon himself as an instrument in God's hands—as His pen—and not be puffed up by success nor discouraged by failure; for there is as much grace required to avoid dejection as elation—our pride is the cause of both.'

'Nothing is so dangerous, when a man retires from the world, as to make for himself a little world.'

'It is often as necessary to shut out the thought of our past sins as of our good deeds, because the remembrance of either may be alike dangerous, and give occasion to the devil to tempt us.'

'Christian virtue may be summed up in patient endurance of wrongs to oneself and forbearance towards the wrong-doer.'

'It is not said in Holy Scripture, that he is happy who has never sinned, but he to whom God does not impute iniquity.'

'To be humble is to serve God faithfully in our present imperfect condition, waiting patiently for Him to perfect us.'

'A mote may soon become a beam, if the evil agencies within us are not at once checked and thwarted by care and vigilance.'

'To trace the hand of God in every grievance is the way to rise above the grievance.'

'Self-love is the great pest of devotion.'

'Consider sufferings, whether from accidents or illness, as

the midnight cry raised by the virgins to announce the coming of the Bridegroom.'

'Those who are ill and laid aside should regard their bed as an altar, on which they can daily offer up to God the sacrifice of their life.'

'Christ enters not the heart of man by grace, unless John Baptist prepare the way by repentance.'—ST. BERNARD.

Among the great names of Port-Royal, none is more memorable than that of Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, born at Bayonne in 1581. He was of an old and wealthy family, and was educated in his native city until the age of sixteen, when he was sent to Paris to study Theology at the Sorbonne.

From thence he was removed to Louvain, where he first met Cornelius Jansen, the friend whose influence dominated his whole future life. After studying for four years in the Jesuit College at Louvain, du Vergier returned to Paris, where he was joined by Jansen in 1605. The two young men could not fail to be struck with the difference in the theological teaching of the two Universities.

The writings of the Fathers of the Church formed no part of the instruction given to students at the Paris University. Unlike that of Louvain, the instruction was entirely confined to the writings of the Schoolmen. Vital Christian doctrines were neglected for arid subtilties, and the two friends, thirsting for the deep truths of the Christian faith, turned from such teaching with disappointment and dismay. Filled with youthful enthusiasm, their dream was to be permitted to impart vitality to the lifeless theology of the day, and to restore the Gallican Church to the sim-

plicity and purity of primitive times. With this aim in view, they withdrew to Champré, a small property belonging to du Vergier, close to the sea in the neighbourhood of Bayonne. Here they studied together the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and more especially those of St. Augustine. The history of du Vergier for the next five years is closely interwoven with that of Jansen; but in 1617 the friends reluctantly parted; du Vergier proceeded to Poitiers, where he was made a Canon of the Cathedral: he subsequently became Prior of Bonneville, and finally, in 1620, Abbé de Saint-Cyran. It was a small abbey on the borders of Touraine and Berri, and was the last preferment which du Vergier accepted. Jansen returned to his old University at Louvain as Principal of the new College of St. Pulcheria. Although separated, the two friends continued closely united in religious opinion, and their friendship knew no change through life.

By deep study of the works of St. Augustine they had escaped out of the bewildering mazes constructed by the Schoolmen, and maintained with undeviating faith the teaching of the great Latin Father, viz., that it is by God's free grace alone that fallen man is restored and renewed in spirit. The Jesuits at once detected in this doctrine of free grace a close affinity to that of Luther. It was a clear repudiation of the doctrine of justification by works.

Nevertheless the history of Jansen and Saint-Cyran affords convincing proof that they were utterly unconscious of any Lutheran tendency in their teaching, and were in very truth the devoted servants of the Church to which they belonged.

Whilst at Poitiers in 1620, when M. de Saint-Cyran was thirty-nine, he became acquainted with M. Arnauld d'Andilly, who was his junior by about eight years. M.

d'Andilly was the eldest son of Antoine Arnauld, formerly Procureur-Général,[1] and he stood high in favour with the Court and with Cardinal Richelieu. It seemed unlikely that between these two men, so dissimilar in character and tastes, a friendship should be formed as complete as is possible in this world.[2] Yet such was the case. M. d'Andilly became the devoted disciple of M. de Saint-Cyran, and this meeting at Poitiers marks the commencement of his close intimacy with all the Arnauld family.

In 1621 M. de Saint-Cyran quitted Poitiers, and henceforth resided chiefly in Paris. He was already known to Cardinal Richelieu. They had met at Poitiers when the latter was Bishop of the neighbouring See of Luçon.

Richelieu had not failed to mark the extensive learning and intellectual vigour of du Vergier, whose quiet dignity greatly impressed and attracted him. He discerned beneath the gravity and reserve of the young ecclesiastic certain qualities which might make him a valuable instrument in the furtherance of his own schemes. But what raised the curiosity and baffled the penetration of the Bishop was that a man with a mind so original and acute, and who had obviously within him the seeds of future eminence, should have chosen to live in close seclusion and tie himself down to the exclusive study of the Fathers of the Church. The total absence of all worldly ambition in so gifted a man was beyond his comprehension.

On the arrival of the Abbé in Paris, the Cardinal would have taken him by the hand. He was desirous of bringing him within the sphere of his influence and dominion, and without consulting M. de Saint-Cyran, he appointed him almoner to the Princess Henrietta Maria on her approaching marriage with Charles I.; but the post was declined by

[1] He died in 1619.

[2] 'Mémoires d'Andilly.'

Saint-Cyran. Not discouraged by this first refusal, Richelieu some time after offered him the Bishopric of Clermont, then later that of Bayonne—in all, five different Sees—but always with the same result: all were declined, though on each occasion M. de Saint-Cyran presented himself before the Cardinal to express his acknowledgments. It was at one of these interviews that, having received his visitor with marked distinction and re-conducted him through the rooms, the Cardinal turned to the throng of courtiers, touched Saint-Cyran on the shoulder, and said aloud, 'Messieurs, you see here the most learned man in Europe!' But Saint-Cyran was proof against all flattery, so that Richelieu began to suspect and fear a man who held himself aloof from his proffered patronage.

It is said that there were passages in the early career of Richelieu, when Bishop of Luçon, which were known to M. de Saint-Cyran, and which the Cardinal feared might be divulged. Be this as it may, it is certain that henceforth he regarded the Abbé with no partial eye.

During these first years in Paris, M. de Saint-Cyran was on terms of close intimacy with some of the most eminent French ecclesiastics. Amongst those who regarded him with deep respect and affection were M. de Bérulle, the founder of the Congregation of the Oratorians in France, and their first general, Père de Condren, the general of the Oratorians after de Bérulle's death,[1] and Vincent de Paul, the founder of the Sisterhood called Sœurs de la Charité, and of the Confraternity of Prêtres de la Mission.

These three men were seeking by different means to bring about a revival of discipline and spirituality among the clergy of France. Their aim was not a reform of the doc-

[1] M. de Bérulle was made a Cardinal in 1627. He died suddenly in 1629, whilst celebrating Mass.

trines of the Church, but a renewal of fervour and devotion in the priesthood.

But the aim of M. de Saint-Cyran was far wider. In his opinion, 'the first scholastics, even St. Thomas Aquinas himself, had injured true theology,'[1] and it was a return to the primitive teaching of the Church before the advent of Scholasticism which he eagerly desired. To Vincent de Paul he lamented in earnest language the falling off from the purity of doctrine of the past, and said that 'in the time of St. Bernard the Church was like a vast river flowing with clear water, but now, although the bed of the river was still the same, the waters were no longer pure.' Words like these were not acceptable to the ecclesiastics of his day; and though Saint-Cyran had devoted friends, he had also powerful enemies.

In 1626 an anonymous work appeared, refuting the errors contained in a book by Père Garasse, a Jesuit priest. The refutation was known to proceed from the pen of M. de Saint-Cyran, and the success it obtained marks the beginning of the contentions between him and the Jesuits.

It was not long before another and a graver controversy sprang up. Its history has a special interest for us. Towards the close of the reign of James I., Pope Urban VIII. had made an attempt to re-establish Papal dominion in England. The king's mother, Mary Queen of Scots, had been looked upon by all his Catholic subjects as a martyr to the Catholic faith. He himself had certainly no strong bias against the Roman religion, for he had eagerly sought the hand of a Spanish princess for his son and heir, and had now concluded a treaty of marriage for him with another Roman Catholic princess.

[1] See Saint-Beuve, 'Port Royal,' vol. i. p. 315.

The time therefore seemed propitious for re-asserting the claims of Rome to English allegiance, and Urban had judged it expedient to consecrate an Englishman, Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus*, and had sent him to England as Vicar-Apostolic. So far all had prospered. The English Roman Catholics had received him with all due respect and deference. But the newly-appointed Vicar-Apostolic allowed his zeal to outstep his prudence, and had entered into a controversy with the monks, and more especially with the Jesuits, on the vexed subject of episcopal rights. They refused to acknowledge his supremacy, and he in return sought to debar them from administering the sacraments. Nothing could have been more impolitic from the Roman point of view than any strife at this juncture, and the effect of his indiscretion was to split up the English Roman Catholics into two parties, the one siding with the Bishop, the other with the Jesuits. The Bishop appealed to the Assembly of the Clergy in France, and Richelieu, who in early youth had been his pupil, warmly supported him. Through the Cardinal's influence, the Archbishop of Paris and most of the French clergy upheld Smith's pretensions and censured the Jesuits; but the English Government took the matter in hand, and issued a proclamation offering a reward for his apprehension. He had therefore to make a hasty flight from England, and took refuge in France.

It was at this time, when the theological world was in a ferment over this dispute, that a writer entered the controversy, and in four or five powerfully-written Latin treatises, full of fire and vehemence, defended the claims of the Bishop of Chalcedon and all episcopal rights, with strong animadversions on the recusant Jesuits. The treatises bore the signature of *Petrus Aurelius*.

The victory over the Jesuits was complete, and they never

forgave M. de Saint-Cyran, who was universally regarded as the author, although he never admitted it.

To the Gallican Church the subject of episcopal rights afforded peculiar interest. French Bishops laid claim to certain liberties and a limited independence of Rome—a claim warmly contested by the Papal See. When, therefore, M. de Saint-Cyran stood forth as the champion of ecclesiastical discipline and the rights of the episcopacy against the monks and the Jesuits, the Bishops were all on his side Their approval was of importance to him, for, in his desire to renovate the Church and restore purity of doctrine, he had as yet met with little support. His ecclesiastical friends listened to his words with attention, and up to a certain point with approval, but when he spoke in strong censure of the existing order of things, they hesitated and held back, afraid of bringing to the light of day the scandals of which they were conscious, lest they should seem to cast a slur upon the Church and weaken her authority. St. François de Sales in one of his letters[1] speaks of the state of the Church as 'a subject for tears,' but he goes on to say, 'Open rebuke would but cause needless scandal.' The bold denunciations of Saint-Cyran were calculated to give offence, but in defending the rights of the episcopacy he had the greater part of the French clergy in cordial agreement with him.

To Saint-Cyran himself the question of episcopal rights was the thin end of the wedge, and he waited patiently till he could drive it home, and speak openly of those reforms in doctrine and in practice which were ever uppermost in his thoughts. He had a wonderful power of impressing those with whom he came in contact; there was a quiet force about him which did not pass unobserved even at the French court, where his very look, we are told, inspired

[1] To the Mère Angélique.

reverence. But he withdrew from the world, and lived in a modest lodging hard by the cloisters of Notre Dame. In this quiet abode he was sought out by many whom he had met in the world. One by one they came asking his spiritual guidance, and through that guidance were led to renounce a life of frivolity and self-indulgence and devote themselves to the service of their Divine Lord and Master. 'He stirred, quickened, kindled those who approached him.' Men recognised in Saint-Cyran a physician of souls. To each penitent he would say, 'Show me your wounds.' He made no distinction of persons, and flattered no one: he believed with such depths of belief in man's sinfulness and guilt before God, that, like another Baptist, he was ever crying, 'Repent ye;' ever pointing to 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.' Any teaching short of this he regarded as dangerous and false. He spoke to each one individually: his work was to bring that particular soul to Christ: this was his one aim, and he looked upon the Sacrament of the Eucharist as the centre of all true devotion to the contrite heart.

The world could not fail to take note of the change wrought in those who came under the spell of Saint-Cyran: but the most remarkable conversion was that of Antoine le Maître, the nephew of M. d'Andilly, and the most brilliant advocate and orator of the day.

He was the eldest son of M. Isaac Le Maître and Catherine, the eldest daughter of M. Arnauld. The marriage had been an unhappy one, and in 1616 Madame Le Maître was obliged to separate from her husband. She returned to her father's house, leading a saintly life, and devoting herself to the education of her five sons.[1]

[1] To Madame Le Maître were addressed many of the spiritual letters of S. François de Sales.

Her eldest son, Antoine, was educated for the bar, and at the age of twenty-eight he was already Conseiller d'État. His eloquence was so fervid that the courts were crowded when it was known that he was to plead; even the great preachers were forsaken to listen to the great pleader.

To one of his ardent nature the applause of the world was especially grateful, and it drew forth his most impassioned eloquence.

In the words of M. de Saint-Cyran, 'His vanity was nourished by the very air he breathed in public.' It was in the full flush of his career and at the height of his renown, that, at the age of twenty-nine, this distinguished orator and advocate forsook all that he might follow Christ.

The sudden change took place at the death of his aunt, Madame Arnauld d'Andilly.

In his daily visits to her sick-room he had met M. de Saint-Cyran. He had heard his words of hope and consolation to the dying woman, and his exhortations to the living who stood around. Le Maître was struck by the force and earnestness with which he spoke, his deep conviction of man's sinfulness, and need of Divine grace; and his solemn words coming direct from the heart—so unlike his own studied declamations—touched and awakened his conscience. When at the last supreme moment Saint-Cyran with deep reverence recited the words in the service for the dying, 'Depart, Christian soul, depart from this world in the name of the Almighty God who created thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, who suffered for thee, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who gave Himself to thee,' Le Maître wept outright, and as the dying woman breathed her last sigh, unable any longer to restrain himself, he hurried from the room to the quiet moonlit garden. There alone, in the presence of his God,

he wept over the past, and resolved to make the sacrifice of all his earthly hopes, and surrender himself wholly to the service of his Lord. It was on the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's Day.

The sudden conversion of his young friend filled Saint-Cyran with joy, and his whole thoughts were now given to his new penitent; but he foresaw clearly all the consequences to himself in this great and sudden conversion. He knew the outcry which would be raised when it was known that the young advocate would no longer plead: he knew also that it would be attributed to his influence, and that the jealousy of the Cardinal, already aroused, would be increased tenfold. 'But what matters it,' he said: 'I must follow my Master to prison or even to death.'

He advised Le Maitre not to quit his profession till the end of the term, and thus test the strength of his new resolve. For some little time, therefore, he continued to plead the cause of his clients, but the fire of ambition was quenched and his speeches had lost their force.

In the court where he pleaded was a large crucifix which he had never even remarked before, but on which he now fixed his earnest gaze, feeling, he said, as he regarded it, more ready to weep than to plead. An envious rival remarked that there was a great falling off in Le Maître's power. 'He no longer aroused his audience, but sent them to sleep.' The saying was repeated to Le Maitre. A week later, as his sole reply, he made a brilliant oration, and having once again electrified his hearers, he left the court never to return.

The mother of Le Maître thanked God for his conversion. The Cardinal looked upon him as mad. Many of his relations, dismayed by his retirement, urged him to pause before taking so rash a step. His uncle, Henri Arnauld, afterwards

Bishop of Angers, proposed that, instead of withdrawing altogether from active life, he should enter Holy Orders. But Le Maître would embark in no new career. He was resolved to lead the life of a penitent. 'For ten years he had devoted himself to the service of men; for the rest of his days he would devote himself exclusively to the service of God.'

He thanked the Cardinal for the favour he had shown him, but begged his kind feeling would not lead him to further his fortunes in this life, as he now sought no other possessions than those which are eternal in the heavens.

Le Maître at first repaired to the lodging of his friend, Saint-Cyran, who had moved to the neighbourhood of the Luxembourg to be nearer Port-Royal-de-Paris. Le Maître had been with him hardly a month, when his younger brother, M. de Séricourt, an officer in the army, also came to Saint-Cyran, inspired by the same motive, and was received under the same roof.

Port-Royal-des-Champs, a monastery of nuns situated between Versailles and Chévreuse, and renowned from the reform instituted some few years previously by its young Abbess, Angélique Arnauld, had been transferred to Paris, and for the last three years had been under the spiritual direction of Saint-Cyran. He had succeeded Sebastien Zamet, Bishop of Langres, in this post, and the lustre of his name had greatly added to the celebrity of the monastery. Antoine Le Maître and De Séricourt were nephews of the Abbess, and when the question arose where to find them a permanent domicile, their mother, Madame Le Maître (sister of the Abbess), quickly solved the difficulty by building a small hermitage adjacent to the monastery of Port-Royal-de-Paris, where the brothers could live in seclusion. In three months the building was finished, and there in 1638, on the day of Paul the first hermit, appropriately

enough, they took up their abode, being the first recluses of Port-Royal.

The two brothers pressed eagerly forward in the Christian race; each urged the other on 'with his advancing tread,' and the early devotion of their young brother, de Saci, who was now being prepared for the priesthood by M. de Saint-Cyran, could not fail to excite and animate their zeal.

Two other disciples, Antoine Singlin and Claude Lancelot, shortly afterwards joined them.

One of the great gifts of M. de Saint-Cyran was that of discernment; he seemed instinctively to know what was in men, and perceived with unerring penetration their capacity or their unfitness for certain offices. A remarkable instance of this is shown in his choice of a preacher for Port-Royal-de-Paris.

One of the new recluses, as we have said, was Antoine Singlin. He was neither a great scholar nor a great theologian—he even seemed to lack the gift of utterance; but nevertheless he was appointed by Saint-Cyran preacher to the community, whilst Antoine Le Maître, who at the bar, had captivated his hearers by his brilliant eloquence, remained in retirement, always a simple recluse. Saint-Cyran felt that Singlin's plain unvarnished speech possessed a power often wanting in more powerful orators—a power of touching the heart by the force and earnestness of his appeals.[1]

Antoine Singlin was at this time thirty years of age. His father had apprenticed him in early life to a linen-draper in Paris; but when about twenty-two years old, he was moved by some sudden spiritual impulse to seek out Vincent de Paul, the Superior of the Prêtres de la Mission. The young man

[1] It was a peculiarity in M. Singlin that in ordinary conversation he expressed himself with hesitation and difficulty; but when he mounted the pulpit, his words flowed with ease and fervour.

was kindly received. He opened his heart to Vincent, who at once advised him to enter the priesthood. Up to this time Singlin had received but a meagre education, and knew not a word of Latin. He was placed by Vincent in a college, where he pursued with ardour the necessary studies, and having acquired sufficient knowledge to become a priest, Vincent de Paul appointed him Confessor and Catechist of the Hôpital de Pitié.

It was there he became acquainted with Saint-Cyran, and before long determined to place himself under the guidance of one who had 'kindled him,' as he said, 'like a match held to the fire.' M. Saint-Cyran was reluctant at first to receive him, but having satisfied himself that Singlin was allowed no scope for usefulness in the Hospital, he permitted him to leave it, and sent him in charge of his own two nephews and two other children to Port-Royal-des-Champs, now deserted by the nuns. Here Singlin spent the summer of 1637. On his return he was appointed by Saint-Cyran Confessor and Preacher to the nuns of Port-Royal-de-Paris. Had not his director insisted on the duty of his becoming a preacher, Singlin would have shrunk from it, so deeply imbued was he with the sense of his unfitness for the office.

To combat his doubts and hesitation Saint-Cyran said, 'If *I* were called to preach, I should humbly present myself before God, and ask Him to give me light on my subject. I should then simply write down the heads of my sermon, and having strengthened my spirit hour by hour by meditation and prayer, I should go and preach without any thought of self or of others. After my sermon I should retire to my room to kneel again before God. I should avoid if possible all reference to my sermon from those who had heard it; and if any one spoke to me of it, I should show that it was

distasteful to me by not replying. I should do this whether it had seemed to me successful or not; for often when *we* think it has been good, it has been bad in the sight of God, and when *we* think we have failed, our effort has been accepted by Him. Accustom yourself to do this, and give yourself unreservedly to God, letting others think what they will.'

Singlin's reluctance was thus overcome. He possessed, it is true, no oratorical powers, but, as M. de Saint-Cyran had discerned, he had the gift of touching the hearts of his hearers; his words, like those of the blind preacher of the Oratory, were learnt 'not in the schools of rhetoric, but at the foot of the Cross.'[1]

At first he preached only in the little chapel of the monastery of Port-Royal, afterwards he occupied the pulpit of the new church, which at once became crowded: the most illustrious in Paris were among his auditors. It was said that almost every sermon he preached brought a new convert or recluse to Port-Royal-des-Champs. On one occasion the new recluse was Pascal.

Singlin, however, had enemies on the watch. On the 28th August 1649, St. Augustine's Day, some words in his sermon on free grace were denounced as heretical, and he was interdicted from preaching by Gondi, Archbishop of Paris. Fortunately for him five French bishops had been present, and on their assertion that nothing controversial had been said, he was, after an interval of four months, re-established as a preacher, the Archbishop honouring him by coming to the first sermon preached after his suspension.

[1] Père de Jeune, the blind preacher alluded to, was struck with sudden blindness whilst preaching in Rouen Cathedral; he paused for a moment and put his hand over his eyes, and then continued his sermon. When it was finished, he had to be guided down the steps of the pulpit. His sight was gone for ever, but he continued to preach for many years.

Singlin died on the 17th April 1664, after much trial and persecution as a Port-Royalist.

Another of the early recluses was Claude Lancelot. He was born in 1615, and when twelve years old had been placed in the seminary of St. Nicholas de Chardonnet, attached to which was a priestly community founded by Adrien Bourdoise.

From early youth Bourdoise had seen and lamented over the existing laxity of the clergy. In 1611, when only an acolyte, he had come from Chartres to Paris to seek counsel of M. de Bérulle as to the best means of restoring order and discipline in the Church. Here he met Vincent de Paul, and the three joined in prayer and meditation on this subject, of absorbing interest to each.

The condition of the Church in France at this time was such as to fill the heart of any devout man like de Bérulle with consternation. The very name of priest had become, we are told, a by-word for ignorance and profligacy. Vincent de Paul, speaking of the want of education and utter unfitness of the priests for their vocation, says that he had found numerous instances of men who could not even say mass correctly.[1] M. de Bérulle's hope lay in the foundation of an institution similar to that of St. Philip Neri's Priests of the Oratory in Rome. He thought that by selecting and bringing together a certain number of young priests, who should live in community, bound only by their ordination vows, and who should form a priestly, not a monastic confraternity, much good might result. They were to be carefully instructed in the special duties and obligations of their high calling, and by the purity of their lives to edify men, preaching and teaching with earnestness and humility, and

[1] See 'Revival of Priestly Life in the Seventeenth Century in France,' p. 43.

undertaking with dutiful submission whatever ecclesiastical functions their Bishop should assign them.

The thought which weighed heavily on Vincent de Paul was the neglected spiritual condition of the French peasantry, and the special remedy for this, in his eyes, was to found a confraternity of Mission Fathers, who should go forth throughout France and evangelise the poor and ignorant. The strong point of M. de Bourdoise was how to enforce order and discipline among the clergy, and the best way to achieve this seemed to him to be to bring parish priests to live a life in common.

This meeting was followed up by the foundation of the Oratory in Paris by de Bérulle, of the Mission Fathers by Vincent de Paul, and of the community of the priests of St. Nicholas de Chardonnet by Bourdoise.

On being received into the seminary of St. Nicholas, the young Lancelot had been immediately tonsured and dressed in a cassock ; these were forms rigidly enforced by Bourdoise.

As Lancelot advanced in years, he was conscious of grave defects in the system ; there was but little spiritual training, the works of the Fathers were not studied, and until the age of twenty, he had never been permitted to read a line of the New Testament beyond what is found in the Breviary. He acquired a certain amount of Greek and Latin and Theology, sufficient to enable him to take the lowest orders, and he was made subdeacon and catechist of the children and catechumens.

It was whilst engaged in this office at St. Nicholas that Lancelot heard of Saint-Cyran, and became filled with an intense desire to know a man of whose deep spirituality none could doubt. How this was to be brought about he knew not, but he describes himself at this time as 'like a man whom the sea has cast on the shore of some island,

where he waits till the vessel which is to take him away appears in sight.'

After patient waiting rescue came. He met Saint-Cyran, and was permitted to leave St. Nicholas and place himself under his direction. He joined the company of recluses, and his name will ever be associated with theirs in the famous schools of Port-Royal. It is also to Lancelot that we are chiefly indebted for the portraiture of Saint-Cyran, whose character he describes with the deepest filial love and reverence.

The thought now presented itself to the mind of M. de Saint-Cyran of forming these converts into a brotherhood, belonging to no especial order, held together by no monastic vows, but living a secluded life of quiet communion with God.

Saint-Cyran had great tenderness and reverence for children, remembering that in heaven their angels always behold the face of the Father. His desire was that the education of children should form a prominent part of the work at Port-Royal. It was an employment which he deemed 'worthy of angels.' Contrary to the usual system, he made a point that all school-books should be written in French, and in clear attractive style such as children could understand. To those he selected as teachers he would say, 'Remember it is not so much by precept as by the power of love and a holy example that these children are to be won. Speak more of them to God than of God to them.'

Patience, not punishment, was the rule, and his plan was carefully to adapt the teaching to the capacity of the scholar, never attempting to force or overstrain the mind. It was thus that the schools of Port-Royal took their rise; Singlin, Lancelot, Le Maître, and de Barcos being the first teachers, and before long they attained such great pre-

eminence as to excite the jealousy of the Jesuits, who had hitherto monopolised the education of the young, and thus increased their bitter enmity towards Saint-Cyran and his associates. He himself constantly visited the recluses, praying with each separately, reading with them the writings of St. Augustin and St. Chrysostom, and expounding to them the Scriptures. This he did with a fervour and earnestness which deeply moved his hearers. He spoke not by rote, but out of the abundance of a heart sanctified by prayer, and new and sublime thoughts seemed given to him day by day. To those who were learned and not teachers in the schools, he recommended the translation of the Scriptures into French, also portions of the works of the Fathers, and the rendering of Latin prayer-books into the vernacular. He introduced the use of hymns as aids to devotion.

It was not long before the peaceful life and successful work of Port-Royal were rudely disturbed. Richelieu's suspicion and dislike towards Saint-Cyran had increased with his renown, and there were special circumstances which had recently influenced the Cardinal's mind against him. Enemies were not wanting, eager to stir up wrath. Prominent among these was the Bishop of Langres (Sebastien Zamet), an old favourite at Court.

He had preceded the Abbé as director of Port-Royal-de-Paris, and he now secretly denounced him to the Cardinal as both unorthodox in his teaching and pernicious in practice.

Richelieu had also his own hidden grievances to embitter him against Saint-Cyran. He felt convinced that the Abbé would oppose his cherished scheme of forming the Gallican Church into a Patriarchate with himself as Patriarch. He had also a political grievance in the significant silence maintained by the Abbé with regard to the proposed dissolution

of the marriage of Gaston, Duc d'Orléans, the brother of the king.

Gaston had married a Princess of Lorraine contrary to the wishes of Louis XIV. The Cardinal, who had intended him for his niece, moved the Parliament of Paris to annul this marriage on the plea of having been contracted without the king's consent, and by this means to pave the way for the prince's union with the Duchess d'Aiguillon.

A still further cause of exasperation was a severe criticism, ascribed to the Abbé, of a catechism written by Richelieu when Bishop of Luçon, which had passed through twenty-two editions. In this catechism Richelieu taught that *attrition*,[1] or the fear of future punishment, together with confession, were sufficient to justify absolution by the priest and admission to the Eucharist.

The criticism refuted this doctrine, and maintained that the mere dread of future punishment was not sufficient, and that before absolution there must be a genuine feeling of love to God and contrition for sin as an offence against Him. The refutation was really the work of Séguenot, one of the fathers of the Oratory, but it was generally, and perhaps justly, believed to have been inspired by Saint-Cyran, who was thus held to have not only thwarted the ambition of the Cardinal, but also questioned his theology —an offence which could not be pardoned. The unfortunate Séguenot was sent at once to the Bastille, and Saint-Cyran's supposed approval of his views marked him out also for vengeance.

His next step was to imprison Saint-Cyran. This was not altogether unexpected by his victim; he knew that by his constant refusal of Richelieu's favours he was incurring his

[1] *Attrition* is a scholastic term for the lowest degree of repentance, arising solely from fear.

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hatred; 'he had to choose,' he said, 'between a bishopric and a prison.'

But the Cardinal's severity did not proceed from mere offended vanity. It had another and a graver motive. From his point of view, the imprisonment of Saint-Cyran became a political necessity.

The religion of Louis XIII. was a compound of selfish fear and superstition. He candidly avowed that he had no real love to God, and that it was only the dread of future punishment which drove him to the confessional. It behoved the Cardinal to keep the king's conscience quiet, and if the views held by Séguenot and Saint-Cyran on the necessity of love to God were to prevail, the king might withdraw from confession, and the Cardinal's hold over him would be gone.

Saint-Cyran had been warned that some danger awaited him, and he himself had a strong presentiment of coming evil. Ascension-tide 1638 had passed, and without any incident, but he felt that his hour was at hand. He was like the condemned man, who, certain of his fate, knows not the day of his execution. On the morning of the festival he said to M. Le Maître, "It will not be to-day, the day is too sacred, but I will not answer for to-morrow." After the evening service he desired that some portion of the Bible should be read to him before going to rest. The 26th of Jeremiah was the chapter. After reading the 14th verse, 'As for me, behold I am in your hand, do with me as seemeth good unto you,' Saint-Cyran stopped the reader, saying, '*That is for me.*'

At daybreak the following morning, 14th May, his house was surrounded by gens-d'armes. A few hours after, whilst Saint-Cyran was engaged in reading with his nephew, M. de Barcos, their early study was suddenly interrupted by the

entrance of the officer in command of the troop. He arrested Saint-Cyran in the king's name, and carried him off to the fortress of Vincennes.

On his way thither he was met by his old friend Arnauld d'Andilly, who, astonished at his arrest, obtained permission to say a few words of farewell, and thrust into his hands a copy of St. Augustine's Confessions.

It was the only book which Saint-Cyran had to solace the first weary hours of imprisonment.

The prisoner's chief anxiety on being arrested was for the safety of the recluses of Port-Royal. He feared lest among his private papers anything should be found which by hostile interpretation could be regarded as heretical, and lead to the persecution of his converts.

Thirty folios of MSS. in his handwriting had indeed been seized by the emissaries of the Cardinal, but they consisted chiefly of extracts from the writings of the Fathers, with reflections by Saint-Cyran himself. Nothing was found that even Richelieu's ingenuity could turn to the prejudice of his friends. Part of a work against Calvinism was afterwards discovered by M. de Barcos, and from extreme caution burnt, much to the subsequent regret of the writer.

No cause was assigned for the arrest of Saint-Cyran, but some hours after it had taken place the Cardinal privately informed M. de Périfixe (afterwards Archbishop of Paris) that he had done a thing that day which would excite a great outcry against him. He had arrested, by order of the king, the Abbé de Saint-Cyran.

He foresaw, he said, that all learned and good men would be outraged by this act, for doubtless Saint-Cyran possessed these two qualities—he was learned and he was good. But, added the Cardinal, 'Whatever they may say against me, I am persuaded that by this act I have done good service to

both Church and State. Many evils would have been averted if Luther and Calvin had been imprisoned when first they began to dogmatise.'

The first tidings that reached Saint-Cyran from without announced to him the death of Jansen. It had occurred one week before his own imprisonment. The loss of his friend, cut off on the very day that he had completed the 'Augustinus,' weighed heavily on Saint-Cyran's heart. In this work Jansen had shown clearly from the writings of St. Augustine that no outward observances, no formal acts of penance, could restore the soul, and that Divine grace alone could recover men from the dominion of sin. The two friends had looked forward to the publication of this book as the means of enlightening men's minds and infusing new life into the enfeebled Christianity of the day. But now that Jansen was dead and he himself a prisoner, all hope seemed gone, and the labour of long years lost.

Saint-Cyran remained for some days in a state of profound discouragement. 'It was,' he said, 'as though God had for a season forsaken him, and Satan was permitted to sift him as wheat.'

In the bitterness of his soul he turned to the Bible, which had been secretly conveyed to him: but doubts now arose to torture him, and harassed by these, the Sacred Volume afforded him no consolation. All that he read seemed to point to woe and condemnation. Was *he* not a tree to be plucked up by the roots, without fruit? Had he not been a blind leader of the blind, and this imprisonment, was it not God's appointed punishment?

In his anguish he cast himself on the floor of his cell with his face to the earth in deep self-abasement. He sought refuge in prayer, and, after earnest supplication, turning again to his Bible, he opened at the ninth Psalm and read,

'It is Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death. . . . I will rejoice in Thy salvation.' The cloud of doubt and despair passed away. Calm returned after the storm, and his troubled soul was restored to its wonted peace.

Saint-Cyran's friends no sooner knew of his arrest than they sought means to liberate him. They interceded with the queen-mother, but she was powerless; bishops, judges, princes of the blood implored the Cardinal to release his captive, but he was inflexible.

One bishop alone had the baseness to draw up a counter-memorial; this was Sebastian Zamet, Bishop of Langres. To the representations of the Prince de Condé, Richelieu replied, 'You know not what you ask. That man is more dangerous than six armies. Both in theology and state policy he withstands me. Look at my catechism; I say that *attrition* with confession is alone necessary, he maintains that *contrition* is indispensable. Again, in the affairs of Monsieur's marriage all France yielded to my will; he alone had the hardihood to oppose me.'

After six months' constant importunity, all that Saint-Cyran's friends could obtain for him was an order for his removal to a more healthy cell, with a servant to attend upon him. After this the rigour with which he had been treated was gradually abated. Arnauld d'Andilly was permitted to visit him. Materials for writing found their way into his cell, whence words of devout instruction reached the outer world, and were received with intense reverence as the utterances of a persecuted saint, and from his prison Saint-Cyran directed more penitents than ever.

His fears for the recluses were speedily verified. They were dismissed by the Archbishop of Paris from their sanctuary adjoining Port-Royal-de-Paris, on the pretext of their too close proximity to the nuns, and though M Singlin

represented that no communication could take place, the Archbishop insisted upon his order being immediately carried out. The deserted monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs afforded them a temporary shelter. Owing to its unhealthiness from overcrowding, the whole community of of nuns had been withdrawn to Port-Royal-de-Paris. The recluses, however, were not permitted to remain there, and after wandering from place to place, took up their abode at Ferté Milon, a small town fifty miles from Paris. Here they were received under the roof of Madame Vitart, the aunt of Jean Racine, the great French poet, who was himself to become a pupil in the schools of Port-Royal. Finally, in 1639, when the minds of men were less excited, the recluses quietly made their way back to the monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs, and gradually founded there a community composed of men who were among the most distinguished in France for genius, for learning, and for holiness. From his prison at Vincennes Saint-Cyran ceased not to direct the recluses and many others, among whom stands the name of M. Guillebert, who appears in the annals of the Pascal family. He became a disciple of the imprisoned Saint-Cyran, and was, as priest of Rouville in Normandy, the means of a religious revival in that parish, when the whole Pascal family placed themselves under his guidance.

Saint-Cyran's letters to his young converts are full of warmth and affection. In one of these he writes, 'What great joy I have when I hear of any young man who has devotion towards God; but I have also fear, because experience has taught me that not only in the case of the young, but even with grown men, this devotion oft-times resembles the blossom one sees on the trees, which afterwards disappears without leaving any fruit.' The children whom he recommended to the care of Lancelot were also

constantly in his thoughts. From his prison he wrote requesting that, though at a distance, he might be allowed to assist as 'submaster in their education.'

Among his fellow-prisoners many were brought to a higher life through his influence. Johann von Werth, a famous general in the Thirty Years' War, was among these. In 1641 his exchange was effected with another French prisoner, and before leaving France he was invited by the Cardinal to a grand representation given in his palace. The king and queen were present at this play with all their court. The dignitaries of the Church were invited, and bishops and abbots, confessors and almoners, had special seats reserved for them. Nothing could be more dazzling than the spectacle. When it was over, Johann von Werth was asked what had struck him most in this magnificent scene; he replied that it was a wonderfully fine pageant; but what had struck him as a thing still more wonderful, was that in the most Christian kingdom of France, bishops should be at a comedy and saints in prison.

Another prisoner at this time at Vincennes was an Imperialist general named Ekenfort. A strange and touching incident is related concerning him. Made prisoner of war in 1638, it was agreed after two years' captivity to exchange him for a French prisoner of distinction, M. de Feuquière, taken by the Germans at the battle of Thionville. To carry out the exchange, M. d'Ekenfort had been released by the king's order from Vincennes, and went to pass his last night on French soil at the house of his friend M. Arnauld d'Andilly, rejoicing as only a released prisoner can rejoice in the sense of recovered liberty. At an early hour the following morning all was ready for his conveyance across the frontier. The horses were saddled in the courtyard, and having bade farewell to his friends,

the happy general was in the act of mounting, when the startling news was brought in all haste that the French officer for whom he was to be exchanged was dead. It was a thunderbolt to the assembled party, but there was nothing left for him but to return at once to Vincennes.

It was under this terrible disappointment that M. d'Ekenfort found relief and spiritual consolation in the companionship of Saint-Cyran, who looked upon this return to captivity as divinely ordered for his eternal good. 'The Emperor,' he said, 'wished to liberate you: the king of France also desired it; who then prevented it? The King who overrules all things both in heaven and on earth.'

In the chapel at Vincennes, Saint-Cyran's attention had been drawn to two women prisoners like himself, poorly and scantily clad. These were the Baronne de Beausoleil and her daughter; the husband was incarcerated in the Bastille, and they were left utterly destitute. Saint-Cyran had but a few books in his possession, but the greater part of these were at once disposed of, that 'comfortable clothing befitting the condition of these ladies' might be purchased for them by Madame Le Maitre, to whom he gave the commission.

But the most remarkable of the conversions effected through the instrumentality of the imprisoned Abbé was that of Antoine Arnauld, better known to the world as 'le grand Arnauld.' He was the youngest brother of M. Arnauld d'Andilly and of Angélique Arnauld (Abbess of Port-Royal), and the greatest genius of that illustrious family. He had wonderful facility in learning, and as a boy at school gave evidence of his mental powers. He studied philosophy at Lisieux, and applied himself to the study of the law, for which he showed an especial aptitude; but his mother being strongly averse to his making the law his profession, he yielded to her wishes, and commenced the

study of theology at the Sorbonne under M. Lescot. Although not his spiritual director, Saint-Cyran took a keen interest in the young Antoine, and dreading the tendency of Lescot's instructions, furnished him, as a corrective, with some of St. Augustine's writings on divine grace. The consequence was that in 1635, six years before the appearance of Jansen's famous 'Augustinus,' the Augustinian doctrine of grace was clearly perceptible in a thesis written by the young Arnauld when studying for his bachelor's degree—the doctrine 'for which he was to encounter fifty years of toil and combat and suffering.'[1]

His success was brilliant at the University. His genius, his learning, and his remarkable debating powers rendered him the object of universal notice and expectation. Richelieu regarded him with especial favour, and a great career opened before him. Antoine himself was ambitious of distinction. He had taken his bachelor's degree, but he was determined to attain the highest honours. His life at this time was that of a man of the world living in pleasure. He possessed considerable wealth from the benefices procured for him through his father's interest at court.

His family, although proud of his talents, lamented his worldly mode of life, destined as he was for the ecclesiastical state. He was received into the Church as a subdeacon; but with him this was but a stepping-stone to a further object. His great ambition was to become a doctor of the Sorbonne. To attain this dignity he must be in priest's orders. But a sudden doubt rose within him as to his fitness for this higher office. Had he not been contenting himself with intellectual knowledge without seeking that holiness which God required? Dissatisfied with himself, and with the specious advice proffered to him by his con-

[1] See 'Port-Royal' (Beard).

fessor, Arnauld resolved to write to M. de Saint-Cyran (for the last six months a prisoner at Vincennes), and cast himself upon him for direction. In his letter he tells how 'for many years he had been living in a perpetual lethargy, seeing what is good and right, but doing it not, contenting himself with having thoughts like those of the children of God, whilst living the life of the children of the world; but now God had spoken to his heart, and hearing ears had been given him.'

On receiving this letter, M. de Saint-Cyran immediately wrote back, 'I am yours, when once you are the servant of God.'

Arnauld was at first dismayed by the sternness with which M. de Saint-Cyran viewed the course which had been pursued. 'To become a priest for the sake of a doctor's cap was to degrade the priesthood,' and 'no man could acceptably labour in God's vineyard who had not been called to the work by the Holy Spirit.'

Saint-Cyran consented to become his director (though this was not without peril to himself) on condition of perfect submission on the part of the penitent, whom he recommended to continue his theological studies, and prepare himself by prayer and fasting for the place he sought in the Church.

He enjoined prayerful study of the Scriptures, committing certain portions to memory, and bidding him 'weigh every word, even as if he were weighing a coin of gold.' 'You must have a library within,' he wrote, 'and transmit to your heart all the knowledge which you have in your head, so as to be able to put it forth as God may require.' He also wished him to take charge of three poor persons, whom he was to visit, and to whom he was to give alms for a whole year.

Port-Royal-des-Champs willingly opened its gates to receive the new penitent.

Arnauld pursued his theological studies with redoubled

assiduity; but all things had become changed to him. The world was renounced, his benefices were resigned, and his wealth was consecrated to the Church. He became priest in 1641. His admission to the Sorbonne was delayed through the opposition of Richelieu, who had discovered that he was a disciple of M. de Saint-Cyran; but on the death of the Cardinal in December 1642, Arnauld was at once admitted to this crowning honour. Some months before receiving his doctor's degree he lost his mother. She had been for fifteen years a sister in the monastery of Port-Royal-de-Paris, and the conversion of her son had afforded her the deepest consolation. On her death-bed she was attended by M. Singlin and her nephew, M. de Saci. Antoine Arnauld was not admitted, and in his grief he implored M. Singlin to ask his mother if she had not a parting word for him—a word which he should hold sacred all his life, as conveying her last wish, and as a token of God's purpose concerning him. M. Singlin brought him this message from the dying woman. 'Tell my youngest son, that as God has called him to defend the truth, I exhort and conjure him never to relax in its defence, but to sustain it fearlessly, even at the peril of a thousand lives; and tell him I pray God to keep him humble, and not to suffer him to become puffed up by his knowledge, for truth belongs not to him, but to God only.'

The dying words of his mother found an echo in the heart of the young man when the solemn oath was administered to him by the Sorbonne, and he swore to defend God's truth even to the shedding of his blood. 'This is not a mere formal ceremony,' he exclaimed to those around who took the oath with him; 'it is a solemn contract, and it behoves us to consider well whither under God's providence it may lead us.'

To return to M. de Saint-Cyran. No definite charge was brought against him until a whole year after his arrest, when a commissioner was sent to interrogate him: but he had too strong a sense of the dignity of the priesthood to submit to be catechised by a layman. Lescot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was therefore substituted by the Cardinal, and for three weeks the examination lasted, but only to prove the superiority of the prisoner's knowledge to that of his examiner. Lescot attempted to convict Saint-Cyran of Calvinism, on account of his views on the doctrines of grace and works.

The subject of *attrition* was also discussed, as the great object of Lescot was to induce the prisoner formally to renounce his view on this point, and declare in writing that he approved of the doctrine as held by the Cardinal. He hinted that if he did so, he would at once be liberated. Saint-Cyran remained immovable; he said that he had no private views on the subject: the views he held were sanctioned by the Catholic Church, and that he would rather remain a prisoner than retract what he held to be truth. To the entreaties of his friends he replied, 'I am content to remain here—it matters not how long to die here, if it be God's will. I desire to complain of nothing, knowing that God does all. I am ready for whatever He designs for me—for action or for suffering, as He sees best.' Another year passed, and again Lescot came, but the result of their conference was the same: the Inquisitor was again baffled.

From time to time Richelieu sent complimentary messages and protestations to his prisoner, his emissaries pressed him for some response, but Saint-Cyran maintained towards the Cardinal a respectful but absolute silence.

At length, however, after a third visit from Lescot, Saint-

Cyran, wearied by the solicitations of his friends and weakened in health, was induced to write a letter to M. de Chavigni, the governor of Vincennes, and a man deep in the confidence of Richelieu, explaining his views on *contrition* and *attrition*, and admitting that, as a confessor, it was possible that occasions might arise when he should feel justified in administering absolution where the deeper sense of contrition had not been attained.

The letter had hardly been despatched when he repented of his weakness, and felt grieved and humiliated by his concession.

The letter produced no effect. Richelieu was not appeased by the slight concession.

Le Maître, in despair, now urged Saint-Cyran to send some deferential message to the Cardinal in return for his empty phrases and civilities. But he refused. 'What then is to be done?' exclaimed Le Maître. 'Bow the head and adore God,' was the reply.

Saint-Cyran's prison life served to develop the beauty of his character. His very guards, it is said, revered him as a saint; the children of his jailers were his pupils.

Often would his voice be heard in the silence of the night, like Paul and Silas of old, praying and singing hymns unto God, and the other prisoners would listen and wonder as they caught the sound.

It was not till two years after the death of Jansen that his book the 'Augustinus' was published. It issued forth from the press at Louvain in 1640, and, in spite of all the intrigues of the Jesuits, a second edition appeared in Paris the following year. This work had long been of intense interest to Saint-Cyran. It was in truth in great part his own; and he had watched its progress with varying hopes and fears for twenty years; but when his friend Jansen died,

he had despaired of the book ever seeing the light. The news of its publication therefore afforded him the deepest satisfaction, and the book itself was at once sent by his friends to solace the prisoner at Vincennes.

He received it with exultation as 'the book of devotion of these latter days.' After St. Paul and St. Augustine, no one, he said, had written concerning divine grace like Jansen.

In Paris the 'Augustinus' obtained the approval of six doctors of the Sorbonne, and was regarded with extraordinary interest, not only by the theological world, but by the public generally. The Pope's Nuncio and the Jesuits viewed it with an evil eye, and the latter anxiously awaited their opportunity for striking a blow. The occasion soon presented itself.

The pulpit in the seventeenth century, as in the Middle Ages, gave the lead to public opinion, very much as the press does in our own time, and the Jesuits availed themselves of this prerogative.

In the Advent sermons preached in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in 1642, the 'Augustinus' was publicly proclaimed by a Jesuit father to be heretical, and Jansen was held up to scorn as a Calvinist in disguise. Immediately a crowd of preachers followed suit, and denounced the work and its author in the same insulting strain.

Saint-Cyran's indignation was aroused by these unworthy attacks on one who could no longer defend himself, and from his prison at Vincennes he confided the defence of the book to the genius and eloquence of the great Arnauld, calling upon him to refute the calumnies of the Jesuits. 'There is a time,' he said, 'to be silent, and a time to speak, and the time is come when silence would be a crime.'

Accordingly a work shortly appeared from the pen of Arnauld, which caused almost as much sensation as the

book he was pledged to support. The incident which directly led to its publication is sufficiently curious.

Two great ladies of the court, the Princesse de Guemené and the Marquise de Sablé, were much embarrassed by finding that their respective directors were in direct opposition in so important a matter as the rule to be observed after reception of the Holy Sacrament.

The director of Madame de Sablé, Père Sesmaisons, a Jesuit, gave her full permission to attend a ball the same evening, whilst Saint-Cyran, who (through M. Singlin) ruled the conscience of Madame de Guemené, steadily denied the same indulgence to her friend. In this difficulty the two ladies agreed that each should write to her director, and should place the answer of the Jesuit Sesmaisons in the hands of the Jansenist director, and that of the Jansenist in the hands of the Jesuit.

In this way the reply of the Jesuit, which took the form of a small treatise[1] became known to Arnauld. Shocked by the lax and accommodating teaching of this treatise, which declared, among other things, that 'the more we are devoid of divine grace, the more boldly ought we to approach Jesus Christ in the Eucharist,' Arnauld launched forth his famous work entitled 'De la Fréquente Communion.' This book, now forgotten, and bearing a title seemingly opposed to its teaching, was at one period as much read and valued as the 'Vie Dévote' of St. François de Sales, or even the 'Imitation.'

In the 'Fréquente Communion' Arnauld states in clear strong words the true doctrine held by the Jansenists. He maintains the necessity of hearty repentance, which was in danger of being set aside by the teaching of the Jesuits, and deplores the carelessness and irreverence with which

[1] Entitled 'Question, S'il est meilleur de communier souvent ou rarement?'

many now intruded, without due preparation, upon sacred mysteries; and he declares that before absolution could be efficacious, there must be some sense of love to God, and heartfelt contrition for sin as an offence against Him. In support of this, he cites from the Fathers and Councils of the Church.

Before publication the book was submitted to the prisoner at Vincennes. It received his warm commendation, and he declared that 'Arnauld had proved himself a true defender of the faith.'

The work was not published for some months. It issued forth with the approving signatures of sixteen bishops and twenty doctors of the Sorbonne. It was hailed with enthusiasm, and passed rapidly through several editions. Its wonderful success cheered the last days of Saint-Cyran, and seemed to be given him as a blessed consolation for the long persecution he had endured on account of the very doctrine now so ably and boldly put forth by Arnauld.

In December 1642 the great Cardinal died, and Saint-Cyran's release from prison was not long delayed. On the 6th of February 1643 he was set free; but five years of captivity had told heavily upon his frame, and he left his prison with the seal of death upon him. His fellow-prisoners shed tears of mingled joy and sorrow when he parted from them; the jailers, we are told, formed a line on each side as he passed, and the soldiers of the garrison saluted him as he drove away in the carriage of M. Arnauld d'Andilly. He returned to his old lodging near the Chartreux, in the neighbourhood of the present Rue d'Enfer.

On the evening of his release he once more knelt in the little chapel of Port-Royal-de-Paris, and joined in the psalm of praise and thanksgiving. A few days afterwards he visited the recluses at Port-Royal-des-Champs. It was not without

deep emotion that they again gathered round the master whom they loved and venerated, and from whom they had been so long parted.

A week later there was a solemn thanksgiving for his release at Port-Royal-de-Paris. The service was conducted by M. Singlin. Antoine Arnauld, De Saci, and Lancelot took part in it. Saint-Cyran himself was present, but too weak to officiate. After the service, by his request, they knelt in silent prayer, and asked to be guided in the choice of a psalm to commemorate the event. By the means common in those days of thrusting a long pin into the Psalter, the book was opened at the 34th Psalm. M. Singlin then read aloud—

'I will bless the Lord at all times;
His praise shall be continually in my mouth.
I sought the Lord, and He heard me, and delivered me from all my fears;
This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him,
And saved him out of all his trouble.
The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him,
And none of them that trust in Him shall be desolate.'

The words were received as a direct message from God. Saint-Cyran was deeply moved. He asked to be left alone. But when, in obedience to his wishes, the others were gone, two of the recluses stood unperceived in the church, and relate that, with tearful eyes and a voice stifled by sobs, he again slowly repeated the Psalm, and casting himself down before the altar, he remained for some time wrapt in prayer.

Though released from prison, Saint-Cyran was still under suspicion, and the interval of peace and quiet study on which he had counted after leaving Vincennes was but of brief duration. An attempt was made almost immediately by the Jesuits to suppress and censure a short familiar

catechism for children, written by Saint-Cyran at the request of a friend whilst in prison. The attempt proved abortive, but a feeling of insecurity remained, and a report was prevalent that M. de Saint-Cyran was once more to be consigned to prison. He himself continued calm and undisturbed. His liberty was not again interfered with, and the fears of the Port-Royalists gradually subsided. In Paris his old life was resumed. He directed the recluses and recommenced a work he had begun before his imprisonment. Its aim was to expose the errors of the Calvinists, wishing, perhaps, to show that, though opposed to the teaching of the Jesuits, Port-Royal was loyal to the Church of Rome. It almost seemed that the nearer the Jansenists approached Protestant doctrine, the more eager were they to disclaim sympathy with Protestants. But for Saint-Cyran the end of all controversy was at hand. Doubts and disputations were to be exchanged for blessed certainties.

The last evening of his troubled life (October 10) was passed in dictating to a friend his thoughts on another world and the glory which should be revealed.

The next morning he had an attack of apoplexy, but he recovered consciousness, and at his own request the last sacraments were administered by the curé of his parish church, St.-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas. At eleven o'clock on that Sunday morning, October 11, Saint-Cyran ceased to breathe.

He was buried in his parish church, and followed to the grave by a concourse of bishops and archbishops desirous of showing respect to his memory. Vincent de Paul, we are told, was the first to sprinkle holy water on the body of the man who had been imprisoned for 'heresy.'[1]

His tomb was visited by persons of all ranks. Every

[1] See 'Saint Vincent de Paul' (Abbé Maynard), tom. ii. p. 28.

Saturday mass was said by priests of Port-Royal at an altar near where he lay, and not the ordinary mass for the dead, but the higher ceremony with white vestments, ordered for a confessor.

Thus died at the age of sixty-two the founder of so called Jansenism in France, the greatest among the great characters of Port-Royal, and the father of the great intellectual and spiritual movement which was in after times to offer the one single barrier within the kingdom to the despotism of Louis XIV., who at the close of his reign added yet another stain to his memory, by breaking up the holy and virtuous community which refused to bow down to his will in spiritual matters, and chose to serve God rather than man.

Note.—In the spring of 1892 the writer visited the Church of St. Jacques du Haut Pas. At the east end of the church, in an obscure corner of the raised platform reserved for the organist, is a square white slab, no larger than a somewhat large tile, on which is inscribed in rude letters—

> 'Ici repose Jean du Verger de Hauranne,
> Abbé de Saint-Cyran, décédé le 11 Octobre 1643,
> Célébre par sa science et par ses vertus.'

JACQUELINE-MARIE-ANGÉLIQUE ARNAULD

(Mère Angélique),

ABBESS OF PORT-ROYAL.

B. 1591. D. 1661.

'We soon come to the end of our human strength and resolutions, but if our souls be in union with Christ, they receive of His strength and of His truth.'

'If we are inflated with the wind of vanity, it will extinguish our lamps as surely as the lack of oil.'

'The most trivial action may be performed to ourselves or to God.'

'Humility does not remove our worries, but it calms the mind under them.'

'In seeking human sympathy, we but too often lose Divine consolation.'

'Let our chief thought be to die to self, that we may live to God. Let us strive each day to offer Him something that may mortify a little of our vanity and self-will.'

'Without faith, all troubles seem unendurable. With faith, even bitter things become sweet.'

'The greatest and most acceptable kind of alms which we can give to God is to offer some retrenchment of our inclinations and to mortify our inward and outward senses.'

'It will serve nothing to put on the habit of a nun, if you have not put on the new man, which is created in righteousness and holiness; and this righteousness consists in a perfect union with the will of God.'—*Lettre à Madame de Saint-Ange.*

'When you feel discouraged or tempted, have recourse at once to God and His goodness to sustain you; and when you have committed faults, acknowledge them faithfully, and then, instead of losing by your fall, you will gain the knowledge of your weakness and will feel more deeply your need of Divine help.'

'It is a deceit of the world which destroys many, to imagine that those living in the world are not bound to a virtuous life, as those are who are bound to a religious vocation.'—*Lettre à la Princesse de Lorraine.*

'We are not called in these days to die for our faith on the rack, or by the sword or by fire, but we are all called to die to ourselves by a thousand little self-renunciations—renunciation of our own judgment, of our own desire, of our own temper—occasions for which are given us every day, so that instead of dying by the hand of man, we give ourselves to death; and thus losing our lives for Jesus Christ's sake, we by so doing live His life. 'I came not into the world to do Mine own will.'—*Letter to Madame Arnauld after she had taken the veil.*

'Où vous ne pourrez marcher, Dieu vous portera.'
—*St. François de Sales.*

In a wooded valley seven miles from Versailles, on the road to Chévreuse, there rose the once stately Abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

It was founded in the thirteenth century, in the reign of Philippe II. Auguste, who, according to tradition, lost his way whilst hunting in the forest, and took shelter in an ancient chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence, to which he afterwards gave the name of Port-Royal

The monastery was founded by Matthieu de Marli, of the house of Montmorenci, who, on his departure for the Crusade proclaimed in 1202 by Innocent III., intrusted a sum of money to his wife Mathilde, wherewith to purchase land and found a monastery, where prayers might be constantly offered up for his safety.[1]

In a district named Porrois, from an old Latin word signifying a 'marsh,' land was accordingly purchased. But whatever may have been the character of the soil, and whether or not it deserved its name, the ground purchased in fulfilment of Matthieu's desire had one advantage. In its centre stood the little chapel which had once given shelter to a king, and was now destined again to become famous as the germ of the Monastic Church of Port-Royal-des-Champs, of which it formed a part.

Robert de Luzarches, already renowned as the architect of Amiens Cathedral, is said to have been employed in

[1] The Crusade had been proclaimed for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, but the Crusaders made no attempt to do so; they leagued themselves with the Venetians and attacked Constantinople, wresting it from the Greeks in 1204, and established a Latin Empire which lasted fifty-seven years. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was the first Latin Emperor.

building the church of Port-Royal, which was completed and consecrated in 1229.

The monastery had already been erected by Mathilde in 1208 when twelve Cistercian nuns of the Reformed Order of St. Benedict took up their abode within its walls. This number soon increased to sixty, and for a long period the rule of St. Benedict was enjoined and faithfully observed.

Substantial privileges were conceded to the Abbey by successive Popes. In 1223 Honorius III. issued a decree that no Bishop should interfere with the election of an Abbess of Port-Royal; any attempt to excommunicate or to trouble the community in any way would be visited by Papal displeasure. The nuns were likewise authorised to receive into their monastery those who wished to retreat from the world *without being bound by vows*, a privilege retained until the seventeenth century; but long before that time conventual discipline had fallen everywhere into decay, and at the accession of Henri IV. to the throne of France, Port-Royal had sadly degenerated from its ancient character. We are told that at the close of his reign, the ladies of this monastery were accustomed to relieve the tedium of monastic life by promenades on the margin of the lake, where strains of more lively music than those of the choir met the ear, and gay cavaliers were not unfrequently permitted interviews with white-robed nuns, whose dress in shape[1] and material imitated, as far as might be, the prevailing fashions of the day.[2]

[1] In 'Pepin's Sermons,' quoted by M. de Sainte-Beuve, it is said 'that the taste for dress and luxury had grown to such a pitch in religious houses, that the nuns dressed themselves like noble ladies, forgetting that they were to count themselves dead to the world and its vanities.' The nuns wore masks to save their complexions, and gloves according to the fashion of the time.

[2] See 'Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography' (Port-Royalists), Sir James Stephen.

The pomps and vanities of the world had, in truth, made their inroad into the cloister, and the appointment of Abbess came to be coveted simply as an honourable and pleasant position for a younger daughter.

But a change was at hand. In 1575 Jeanne de Boulehart became Abbess of Port-Royal, and in 1599 accepted as her coadjutrix Jacqueline-Marie Arnauld, aged seven years and a half, with the understanding that the little girl was to succeed her as Abbess. The appointment of this child led to extraordinary results, and the circumstances under which it was made are as curious as they are interesting.

The Arnaulds were of an old family of Auvergne. The grandfather of Jacqueline-Marie, M. de la Mothe-Arnauld, had himself been a Huguenot, a fact not forgotten by the enemies of his race in after years. He narrowly escaped death on the day of St. Bartholomew (1572). His house was attacked, and but for the timely arrival of a force sent by the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medicis, to protect her Procureur-Général, he would doubtless have perished. The humane intervention of the Queen-Mother had one effect: from that day forth the grandfather of Jacqueline-Marie renounced the Protestant faith.

M. de la Mothe-Arnauld had been in the army before entering the law-courts. In both professions he had been distinguished, and had made himself a name. His favour with Catherine de Medicis was extended to his son, Antoine Arnauld, who inherited his father's forensic talents, and in due time succeeded him in the post of Procureur-Général, which he held till the death of the Queen-Mother at Blois in 1589. Antoine then gave up the office of Auditeur des Comptes, which he had likewise held, and devoted himself exclusively to the bar. His eloquence became noted, and

many were the *causes célèbres* in which he was engaged. In 1593 an attempt was made on the life of Henri IV. by Pierre Barrière, a tool of the Jesuits, and their expulsion was loudly and generally demanded.

For thirty years the University of Paris had striven to resist the encroachments of the Order, which openly sought to monopolise the education of the young, and this attack on the king's person afforded a fresh and powerful pretext for their removal. Parliament was petitioned, and in the suit which followed Antoine Arnauld was appointed counsel for the University against the Jesuits. This has been wittily termed 'the original sin of the Arnaulds.'

His earnest pleading produced great effect at the time on the judges, but the trial was adjourned, and it was not till after another attempt to assassinate the king in 1594 by Jean Chatel, that the Jesuits were banished from the soil of France. Arnauld was thenceforth regarded by the whole Order as their avowed enemy, and their bitter, implacable animosity finally occasioned the destruction of Port-Royal.

Antoine Arnauld had married in 1585 the daughter of a distinguished old lawyer, M. Marion, afterwards Avocat-Général. She became the mother of twenty children, described as '*l'éloquente famille*,' and brought as her dowry the estate of Andilly.

Among the most remarkable of these children were Jacqueline-Marie Arnauld, afterwards Mère Angélique, the subject of this sketch; Arnauld d'Andilly, the eldest son; Catherine, the eldest daughter, married to M. le Maître, and the mother of Antoine le Maître and Isaac le Maître (the latter being known as De Saci); Jeanne Arnauld, the next sister to Angélique, afterwards Mère Agnes; Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers; and lastly, Antoine, known as

'le grand Arnauld,' the youngest of the Arnauld family, and as celebrated in the annals of Port-Royal as his sister Angélique.

As M. Marion advanced in years, his anxiety increased how to provide for so many grandchildren. The Arnauld family consisted for the most part of daughters, and it was decided that the eldest should take her place in society and marry, but that the two next in age should be provided for in the cloister.

M. Marion had many powerful friends, and stood high in the favour of Henri IV.; he consequently, without difficulty or inquiry as to the age of the two grandchildren, obtained from the good-natured king the appointment of coadjutrix to the Abbess of Port-Royal for Jacqueline, and the vacant dignity of Abbess of Saint-Cyr for Jeanne—the two being respectively seven and five years old. The nomination of children of such tender years to so solemn a charge was doubtless a shameless proceeding, but in France such things were winked at in those unscrupulous days. The difficulty lay with Rome. In order to procure the requisite Bulls, it was necessary to deceive—in fact, to alter the ages and names of the candidates.

When Jacqueline's grandfather, M. Marion, proposed that she should become an Abbess, the child for a moment hesitated, and then with quick decision accepted the idea, saying that 'under her rule she would see that the nuns did their duty.' Her younger sister, Jeanne, on the contrary, shrank from the responsibilities which she had heard would fall upon her as Abbess, saying 'it would be enough to have to look after her own soul, without having the souls of others to think of.'

No time was lost in investing Jacqueline with the monastic habit. On the 1st September 1599 she was taken

to the convent of St. Antoine des Champs in Paris, and on the following day she took the habit of novice, and the Abbot of Citeaux (Port-Royal being under his rule) gave her his solemn benediction. The year following her younger sister Jeanne went through the same ceremony at Saint-Cyr.

During the eight months which intervened between the ceremony at Saint-Antoine and that at Saint-Cyr, the two children were left together at the latter Abbey. As the sisters grew in years, a more marked dissimilarity became observable in their characters and tastes. To the lively, high-spirited nature of Jacqueline, conventual life became utterly distasteful, its monotony was almost insupportable to her, whilst to Jeanne, who was more docile and passive, the life at the Benedictine convent of Saint-Cyr was altogether congenial.

After the eight months had expired, Jacqueline was sent for her conventual training to the Cistercian convent of Maubuisson, of which Madame d'Estrées, sister of the too famous Gabrielle, was the unworthy Abbess.

Whilst under the care of Madame d'Estrées, Jacqueline's confirmation took place, when she assumed the name of Angélique. The change was made with the view of misleading the authorities in Rome, who had refused the Bulls necessary for *Jacqueline's* elevation, but by the change of name they were led to believe that the Bulls now required were for another member of the Arnauld family; and to complete the fraud, the age of *Angélique* was stated to be seventeen.

Through the influence of Cardinal d'Ossat, the French ambassador in Rome, the necessary formularies were carried out, and the Papal Bull obtained early in 1602. The death of Madame Boulehart (to whom Angélique had been

coadjutrix) quickly followed, and on the 5th of July in that same year Angélique Arnauld, the child Abbess, was solemnly installed and put in possession of her Abbey. She was not yet eleven years old, and up to this time there had been nothing to denote her fitness for a conventual life. The community had dwindled down to thirteen in number. Luxurious habits had taken the place of poverty and self-denial, and female vanity and negligence in religious duties had become the rule at Port-Royal, as in most other religious houses in France. It is related that when Angélique became Abbess, 'the nuns had as confessor a Bernardine monk so ignorant as not to be able to repeat the Paternoster in French, and he knew not a word of the catechism.' For thirty years there had been no sermons preached at Port-Royal, except when a nun made her profession. The Bernardine monks who came to the Abbey were wont to entertain the nuns with accounts of the diversions which took place at Citeaux and Clairvaux, which they called 'the good customs of the Order.' The Holy Sacrament was only administered monthly and on great festivals. The 'Purification' was excepted, as it was in Carnival time, and instead of the mass, masquerades took place in the Abbey, the confessor and the servants assisting.'[1] To this lax state of things, and by the immoral means already mentioned, Angélique Arnauld was introduced at eleven years old—a child destined to become the most revered of Abbesses and the great reformer of monastic abuses.

By her father's desire, Angélique, on attaining the age of fifteen, signed a paper which revealed to her too late the illegality of her earlier appointment to the Abbey. She would gladly have renounced her monastic obligations

[1] See Guilbert, 'Mémoires Historiques de Port-Royal,' vol. viii. p. 208.

and had actually formed a plan of escape, when she was seized with a dangerous illness, which necessitated her return to her father's house in Paris. Here she was nursed with the tenderest care, and when convalescent, found ample time for serious reflection, but no religious aspirations yet moved within her. She would still joyfully have relinquished the distinction thrust upon her. Her heart yearned for liberty, but her conscience told her, that though yet a child when she had made the vows which bound her to a conventual life, she had made them with a full understanding of their import, and her pride could not face the shame of forsaking her profession.

Her strong sense of duty made her resolve not to cast off the unwelcome yoke imposed by her vocation, but to act rightly, and loyally fulfil the part allotted to her. With no higher aim, and utterly without religious enthusiasm, she returned to Port-Royal. But this resolution 'to act rightly' was the first step towards that life of self-consecration to which she afterwards attained.

The days at Port-Royal were passed by the young Abbess and her nuns in harmless amusement; but there was no religious instruction, and the only preparation she had for her first communion was derived from a book of prayers, lent her by a poor cobbler employed in mending the shoes of the nuns.

But there fell into her hands in the season of Lent 1608 a volume of Meditations left by a Capuchin friar, who had preached at Port-Royal during her absence in Paris. Her mind was impressed by what she read, and when shortly afterwards another Capuchin arrived — le Père Basil — and asked permission to preach in the convent church, she gave her consent. The whole community assembled to hear Father Basil's sermon. Night

had nearly set in when the preacher commenced his address in the dimly-lighted church where Angélique and her nuns sat listening. He chose for his subject the love and humiliation of the Divine Son in taking upon Him our nature for the salvation of mankind.

Angélique was strangely moved. She herself tells us that this was the first drawing of her soul to God, and as in stillness and darkness she listened to the sermon, 'God touched her,' all her distaste for a religious life seemed at once removed, and she now rejoiced in the thought of her vocation. She, who had hitherto been dead to spiritual truths, was awakened into new being, 'not by the eloquence of man,' as she herself declared, 'but by Divine grace,' and that hour of dusk in the convent church was to her 'the dawn of a new life, which was to shine more and more unto the perfect day.'

Thus has it been in all ages: men and women have obeyed God's call, and have entered into that blessed communion with the unseen which has made them deaf to the world's voice and saints of the Most High God.

The need of reform in her convent soon presented itself to Angélique's mind, but it was *self-reform*, *personal* religion, which she sought in the first instance. The beam of an unconsecrated life which had obscured her own spiritual vision must be cast out ere she could hope to remove the mote from the eyes of others.

In describing Angélique's early religious fervour, we must not omit the fact that it was marked by some little extravagances and self-inflicted mortifications, which have appeared to many persons puerile, and even absurd. But who that has heard the Divine Voice calling him to repentance and newness of life is not conscious, as he looks back, that his early zeal was not always according to knowledge, nor was

it always tempered with wisdom and discretion, but that nevertheless the fervour and enthusiasm of those early days carried him over many an obstacle, and did him in the main good service?

Although opposed at first to Angélique's reforms, the hearts of the nuns were touched by her increased gentleness and humility, and by her eagerness to serve them and nurse them in sickness. Gradually they were brought to consent to a stricter discipline. Angélique's great object was to return to the primitive rule of the Cistercians, and through her patience and example this was finally accomplished; the fasts and vigils directed by the Church, the rule of silence and the vows of poverty, were again observed.

Community of goods was not carried into effect without resistance. One old nun, Sœur Morel, persisted in asserting her rights. She was the oldest nun in the house, and her repugnance was strong to community of goods. She resigned herself, however, up to a certain point; but there was one thing which she would not give up—this was her little garden. It was her idol, and this must continue hers, and *hers only*. Perhaps 'we have each,' as has been well remarked, 'our little garden to which we cling, and which we refuse to give up.'

In vain Angélique tried to persuade her—in vain she urged the evil example to others in this act of reservation; the old nun remained obstinate.

At length, as by a miracle, Sœur Morel suddenly yielded, and in a touching letter to Angélique enclosed the key of her garden, or, we may add, in the words of M. de Sainte-Beuve, 'the key of her heart.'

To enforce strict 'closure' according to primitive rule was even a harder task than the re-establishment of community

of goods. Angélique had become fully aware of the evil of permitting visitors to enter the monastery, and after many inward struggles she resolved to admit no one from the outer world. Even relations were henceforth only to be received in the parlour, and her own family could be no exception to the rule.

To write and acquaint her mother with this resolution was her next act, and one which cost her infinite pain. M. and Madame Arnauld had always been accustomed to exercise a certain supervision at Port-Royal, and Angélique, who had ever shown them implicit obedience, dreaded the effect of this sudden assertion of her authority as Abbess. Her strong natural affection made her shrink from appearing undutiful, but the die was cast and the letter despatched.

She entreated her father and mother to consider the position in which she was placed, and to consent to be received, like all other guests, in the parlour, instead of being admitted, as before, within the monastery. This letter was not disclosed to M. Arnauld by his wife, who regarded Angélique's assumption of authority at eighteen as altogether inadmissible. The time had arrived for the usual family visit, and on the 25th September 1609 M. Arnauld, accompanied by his wife and their eldest son and daughter, set forth for Port-Royal.

Angélique sought help in prayer for the trial before her. She was still on her knees in the church when the sound of carriage wheels fell on her ear. The dreaded moment had come, and she trembled as she listened to the violent knocking at the closed gates. She rose and went herself to a small wicket-door, which she opened, and by which she implored her parents to enter.

M. Arnauld's astonishment was as great as his anger.

He sternly commanded that the usual entrance to the monastery should be opened to him, whilst she with beseeching voice entreated him to comply with her request, and pass through the wicket to the little parlour where she might speak to him. Louder and more vehement grew his tone; he reproached her with bitterness for her disobedience and ingratitude. Though deeply moved, Angélique remained firm in her determination, and her father now demanded that her two younger sisters, Agnes and Marie-Claire, who were inmates of the monastery, should be delivered up to him. This was done, and he impatiently turned to depart, loudly complaining of her conduct, when Agnes, who was about sixteen, interrupted him, saying that 'after all, Angélique was only following out that which was ordered by the Council of Trent.'[1]

Her brother, M. d'Andilly, whose indignation was as great as his father's, upon this burst out, 'Here we have another who takes upon herself to quote to us from councils and canons!'

Madame Arnauld and her son and daughters had already entered the carriage, but M. Arnauld could not find it in his heart to leave his daughter thus, and slowly retracing his steps, he entered the parlour where Angélique stood behind the grating ready to meet him. She had withstood her father's anger, but the look of grief on his face was almost more than she could bear. He took leave of her, telling her with deep emotion that he should never see her again, and then with inexpressible tenderness implored her, 'if she had any affection for him left, not to injure her health by indiscreet austerities.' He turned to go, when Angélique, overcome with grief, fell fainting behind the

[1] Tom. i. p. 350 (Utrecht), 'Mémoires Historiques et Chronologiques de Port-Royal-des-Champs.'

grating. M. Arnauld called loudly for help, and at length the nuns, who had withdrawn by command of Angélique, came to her assistance. When restored to consciousness, she implored her father to delay his departure. All resentment was cast aside and he promised to remain.

She was carried by the sisters to her room to recover from the effects of this trying scene, whilst they prepared a couch for her in the parlour close to the grating, where she could lie and see her family. When sufficiently calm to speak, she explained the whole circumstances to her father and mother.

M. Arnauld's heart smote him for harshness to his child, and from that day, known in the annals of Port-Royal as 'la journée du Guichet,' he and all her family gave her full support.[1]

The reform accomplished at Port-Royal by a girl of eighteen became the topic of the day, and led to similar reforms at other convents.

The Abbey of Maubuisson, where Angélique had spent two years of her childhood, was perhaps more demoralised under the rule of Madame d'Estrées than any other Cistercian convent. The profligacy and disorder which reigned there could hardly be credited. Charges of gross misconduct had been brought against the Abbess and her nuns. During the life of Henri IV. she had been shielded by his protection, but his son and successor, Louis XIII., was not disposed to tolerate the depravity which had been overlooked by his father. A royal order was issued commanding the Abbot of Citeaux to put an end to these scandals.

Monk after monk was accordingly despatched to remon-

[1] See 'Mémoires of Port-Royal,' by M. A. Schimmelpenninck.

strate with the Abbess, but she invariably declined to receive them. At length an ecclesiastic of higher dignity was sent, but some pretext was alleged for delaying the audience, and in the meanwhile the unfortunate envoy and his suite were conducted to a tower, where they were locked in, and only fed with bread and water. After four days they managed to effect their escape, and returned to Citeaux to tell their tale to the outraged Abbot.

Such insults to his emissaries could not pass without rebuke, and having secured the concurrence of Madame d'Estrées' family, the Abbot of Citeaux himself set forth on an official visit to Maubuisson.

But all was in vain. The Abbess refused to see or communicate with him. She disregarded his entreaties and defied his mandates, and he was forced to leave without having obtained an interview. There was but one course left; this was to seize the Abbess and put her in confinement.

The order was given by Parliament, and the Abbot, with a body of archers, made his appearance again at Maubuisson. They found all the gates locked, and it was only by scaling the walls that they could make an entrance through the windows. As for Madame d'Estrées, she was nowhere to be found.

After a fruitless search of some hours, she was at last discovered, but made such determined opposition to leaving her hiding-place, that the archers had to carry her off in her mattress to the coach which was to convey her to the 'Filles Pénitentes,' where she was shut up.[1]

Having thus disposed of the principal delinquent, the Abbot of Citeaux convened the nuns, and informed them that he was about to appoint a Superior in the place of

[1] 'Mémoires Historiques,' tom. ii. p. 69.

Madame d'Estrées. He gave them their choice between three Abbesses of the Cistercian Order — one of these being the Mère Angélique. Though well known and liked by those nuns, with whom she had lived as a child, they yet hesitated at her name, fearing lest they should be subjected to the same rigorous reform as she had instituted at Port-Royal.

They therefore begged M. de Citeaux to appoint a professed nun of their convent, leaving him the choice. To this he assented: and starting immediately for Paris, the wily Abbot cunningly obtained M. Arnauld's consent to the appointment of Angélique as the substitute for Madame d'Estrées. He then wrote and acquainted the nuns of Maubuisson that, in accordance with their wishes, he had appointed as Superior a professed nun of their house in the person of Madame de Port-Royal. Their dismay was great at being thus outwitted.

Angélique submissively obeyed the summons. She set forth at once, taking with her three or four of her own nuns on whom she could rely. One of these was her sister Marie-Claire.[1]

All the community of Port-Royal were in tears at Angélique's departure. Agnes Arnauld, who had retired from Saint-Cyr, now became Superior of Port-Royal during Angélique's absence.

There were twenty-two nuns at Maubuisson, and Angélique did not disguise from herself or her companions the difficulties, and even dangers, which they might have to

[1] Marie-Claire from the age of seven had been with her sister Angélique. As a little child she had been lovely, and had been the delight and plaything of the community. She was attacked by small-pox, and dreadfully scarred and disfigured, so much so that when she saw herself reflected in a looking-glass, she would put her little hands before her face and say, 'Ce n'est plus moi.'

encounter. The life hitherto led at the convent was contrary to all conventual usages. The nuns lived entirely for diversion.

The services of the Church were hustled over without reverence, and apparently without thought. In the chanting no regard was paid either to time or tune. At confession the sisters would only say Yes or No to the inquiries of the confessor, and, to avoid even this direct admission, they composed written forms of confession, which they borrowed one from the other when they had to appear at the confessional. Their diversions received more consideration than their religious duties. Many of the nuns had gardens, where they received and gave dinners to their friends. Private theatricals, which attracted a great many guests, sometimes followed, and on fine summer evenings, after hurried vespers, the nuns were accustomed to walk with their Prioress on the banks of the reservoirs near the high-road to Paris, where they were joined by the monks of the neighbouring Abbey of St. Martin at Pontoise, for pleasant intercourse and an occasional dance.

No wonder that on her arrival Angélique met with a cold reception. What she had done at Port-Royal was well known at Maubuisson, and every Sister must have felt that their gay and self-indulgent life would cease under the rule of the new Abbess.

Angélique began her work by making friendly advances to the old nuns, who had known her as a child; but she met no encouragement from them, and finding herself repulsed on all sides, she resolved to introduce fresh blood, and bring thirty new Sisters into the convent, hoping that this leaven would leaven the whole community, and that, with God's blessing, all might gradually be gained over to holiness of life.

Whilst in the midst of her labours at Maubuisson, Angélique was visited by François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva. She received him as a heaven-sent messenger to help her in her great difficulties.

In one of her letters she says, 'When God brought M. de Genève to me in 1619, I found in him so much grace and light, and such discernment as to my particular needs, that I placed without restraint my very heart in his hands.' To him, accordingly, she confided all her misgivings as to her appointment as Abbess of Port-Royal, and her desire to relinquish that dignity and to enter the Order of the Visitation, of which Madame de Chantal was the Superior. St. François counselled her to persevere in the work of reform on which she had entered. He enjoined patience and gentleness and a firm trust in God, and by his words of sympathy confirmed her faith and courage. His motto, 'Ask for nothing, desire nothing, refuse nothing,' strengthened in her the power of endurance, whilst his meekness and humility taught her a lesson of forbearance which at this time she greatly needed. He tried to moderate her austerities, and in one of his letters he says, 'Sleep well: little by little you will be able to accomplish your desire of taking but six hours' repose: but to eat little, work much, and with a great deal of mental annoyance, to refuse sleep to the body is like trying to get work out of a tired horse without giving him a feed of corn.'

St. François de Sales is chiefly known to us by his 'Introduction à la Vie Dévote,' a book said to have been composed at the suggestion of Henri IV., who, in spite of his own frailties, desired that a work should be written on the Christian life fitted for the use of courtiers and others living in the midst of the world. St. François was well fitted for the task. He had great experience of court

life; he was known to be averse to excessive austerity, and was wont to say, 'More flies are caught with one spoonful of honey than with ten barrels of vinegar.'

After St. François had parted from Angélique, she received further consolation and support from his letters.[1] She greatly needed encouragement, for a fresh trial of her patience was yet to come.

In September 1619 Madame d'Estrées suddenly reappeared at the convent. She had escaped from 'Les Filles Pénitentes,' and came to assert her rights as Abbess of Maubuisson. She had gained admittance through one of the old nuns, with whom she had been in secret correspondence. A thunderbolt from the sky could hardly have produced greater consternation. Madame d'Estrées went at once to the convent chapel; it was the hour of Tierce; the nuns were assembled in the choir, Angélique in her accustomed seat; the office was about to commence when the intruder presented herself. She walked boldly up to Angélique, and with haughty politeness thanked her for the care she had taken of her Abbey in her absence, but she had now come to resume the management herself, and requested Angélique to withdraw at once to her own Abbey of Port-Royal. Calm and unmoved, Angélique replied with great dignity that she had come there in obedience to M. de Citeaux and by the authority of the king, and that it was her duty to remain till she was ordered by royal command to give up her charge.

But Madame d'Estrées had not come alone to Maubuisson. She had brought with her an escort of armed gentlemen, and finding that she could not prevail with Angélique, she summoned her friends, who advanced with

[1] In the published letters of St. François de Sales many of those entitled 'à une Abbesse' were addressed to Angélique.

drawn swords, and seizing Angélique by the arm, forcibly expelled her from the chapel.

Resistance was useless, and, followed by her faithful nuns, she was led forth from the Abbey, the gates of which were closed against them. Walking in procession, they made their way to Pontoise, their nearest shelter, where they were received with acclamations by the people as 'the good Abbess of Port-Royal and her daughters.'

Angélique, however, had at once despatched a messenger to Paris to inform her family of what had occurred. A warrant was immediately procured by her brother, Henri Arnauld (afterwards Bishop of Angers) for the apprehension of Madame d'Estrées and the re-establishment of Angélique. A troop of archers was sent to effect this, but before they reached Maubuisson, Madame d'Estrées and her cavaliers had taken alarm and fled. A guard was left at the Abbey and an escort sent to Pontoise to bring back Angélique and her nuns.

They set forth at once on foot, as they had come, the archers on horseback on each side of them. The night having closed in, a torchlight procession was formed, and crowds of people from Pontoise followed them to the gates of the Abbey. Madame d'Estrées being still at large, the convent had for some time to be guarded till she was recaptured and consigned once again to the 'Filles Pénitentes.'

In 1622 Madame d'Estrées was formally deposed as Abbess of Maubuisson. The king desired to appoint Angélique as her successor, but she would not accept this higher dignity, consequently Madame de Soissons was made Abbess.

For five years Angélique had patiently striven to work out a reform at Maubuisson. She had had many discouragements and trials, but she was rewarded by the love and

devotion of the thirty dowerless nuns whom she had introduced into the convent. Now that she was returning to Port-Royal, they implored not to be left behind. Madame de Soissons had made a grievance of these portionless Sisters having been brought into her Abbey; Angélique's reply was noble: 'If you, madame, think your house with a revenue of 30,000 livres overburdened with the charge of these thirty nuns, I shall not think mine, which possesses but 6000 livres, incommoded by their reception.' 'To be rich towards God' was all-sufficient with Angélique. She only sought heavenly treasure in those whom she admitted to her community. She accordingly returned to Port-Royal with this large addition to her house.

It was at this time (1623), on her return from Maubuisson, that we find mention for the first time of M. de Saint-Cyran in her history. She had already become acquainted with him through his intimacy with her brother, M. d'Andilly, and on hearing of her reception of these dowerless nuns, which he called 'an act of holy hardihood,' the Abbé wrote to congratulate her and express his entire approval of her conduct.

Several changes had taken place at Port-Royal during her absence. Her father had died in 1619, and her sister Agnes, who had relinquished the post of Abbess of Saint-Cyr, had been appointed by a Papal Bull coadjutrix to Angélique. There were now five sisters[1] of the Arnauld family in the monastery, and before long they were joined by their widowed mother. It was a happy, peaceful time to Angélique; surrounded by her family, beloved and reverenced by all, and as yet unassailed by calumny, she pursued in quietness and peace her life of devotion and active benevolence.

[1] Mère Agnes, Madame le Maitre, Anne, Marie-Clare, and Madeleine.

But these tranquil days were not to last. Under Angélique's rule the Abbey attained such a height of renown as a place of sanctity, that it filled to overflowing. It became unhealthy, and whether from the exhalations of the marshy ground below, the Porrois, as it was originally called, or from its crowded state, the monastery became little else than a fever hospital. Angélique ministered night and day to the sick and the dying, but the mortality increased so rapidly that it was resolved in 1625 to remove the community to Paris. For this move the necessary permission of the Archbishop of Paris, as well as that of the Abbot of Citeaux, had to be obtained: the consent of the latter was required as the head of the Cistercian Order.

A large house known as the Hotel de Clagny, in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques was purchased by Madame Arnauld, and presented by her to her daughter Angélique. To distinguish it from the now deserted monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs, the new house was named Port-Royal-de-Paris,[1] and was for ever to be under the direction of the Abbess of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

Soon after the removal of the community to Paris, Angélique somewhat unwisely solicited from Pope Urban VIII. a brief (1627) which removed Port-Royal from the control of the Abbot of Citeaux and placed it under the authority of the Archbishop of Paris (M. de Gondi). It was a false move in some ways, as though it liberated the nuns from the evils attending the appointment of monks as confessors, it placed them under the dominion of Archbishops subservient to the Court.

The Queen-Mother, Marie de Medicis, gave the new Abbey her royal protection, and Sebastien Zamet, Bishop

[1] Port-Royal-de-Paris still exists. It was visited by the writer this year (1892). It is now the Hospice de la Maternité, Boulevard de Port-Royal.

of Langres, who had formerly been her almoner, was appointed spiritual adviser of the nuns. This was, as it turned out, a most disastrous selection.

M. de Langres had at no distant period been one of the most obsequious of courtiers, and when rewarded by a bishopric, became remarkable for the episcopal pomp and splendour in which he lived. But a dangerous illness produced a change. The Bishop absented himself from court, and when, after two years, he reappeared, the worldly and dissipated prelate was apparently an altered man.

Angélique, who in 1622 had lost the friend and director who had guided her through the stormy days at Maubuisson, now willingly accepted as the successor of St. François de Sales, a man whose sudden conversion seemed to bear some affinity with her own, and whose religious zeal and ardour had become so noted.

There appeared to be also another chord of sympathy. M. de Langres professed to be a reformer like herself; he too had instituted a complete change in the Cistercian Abbey of Tard at Dijon. This had brought him into communication with Madame de Chantal, between whom and Angélique a warm friendship existed. The Bishop had learnt from Madame de Chantal all the details of the reform at Port-Royal and Maubuisson, and on his arrival in Paris he had eagerly sought to make Angélique's acquaintance. The knowledge which he had acquired of her past life, and the warm interest he expressed and professed to take in her career, seemed to give him a claim to her friendship, and before long he had completely won her confidence.

This was the beginning of a period of sorrow and declension at Port-Royal. From henceforth Angélique had little respite from trouble and trial. In her extreme humility

she had besought and obtained royal permission to make the office of Abbess elective and triennial, and voluntarily resigning her dignity, she assumed the place of a simple nun, saying 'she had begun too early to command, and that her later years should be spent in learning to obey.' A new Abbess was appointed in her place, Mère Geneviève, one of the thirty dowerless novices who had followed Angélique from Maubuisson to Port-Royal.

Mère Geneviève had been removed from the house in Paris to the Abbey of Tard,[1] where she had been instructed in all the changes made by M. de Langres. Recalled to Port-Royal as Abbess, and elated at her new dignity, Mère Geneviève returned sadly deteriorated in mind, and, as it appeared, utterly incapable of appreciating the pure and holy motives which had prompted Angélique to retire. Without any respect for her benefactress, she immediately introduced changes at Port-Royal which struck at the root of the reform Angélique had established.

Simplicity of life was altogether set aside, the plain modest dress was discarded, the homely diet prescribed by the rules of the Order was exchanged for more luxurious fare. China took the place of earthenware, flowers were bought in profusion to decorate the church, and the most popular preachers of the day were invited to occupy the pulpit, so as to attract the outer world to the services. To balance these indulgences, the confessors appointed by M. de Langres imposed scourgings and the most humiliating penances. They also encouraged details of visions and revelations on the part of the nuns, and changed the whole management of the house.

Angélique mourned in secret over these changes, but

[1] Tard, like Port-Royal, had been removed from the control of the Abbot of Citeaux, and was under M. de Langres.

she was alone and powerless. She was not even allowed to write to her sisters, Agnes and Marie-Claire, who had been sent to Tard. She had now to learn that hardest of all lessons—Patience—so difficult to be acquired by a quick impulsive nature. She was openly rebuked and set at naught, but she bore all in meekness and silence, saying to herself, 'That which Thou puttest on me, I will bear.' The Bishop, whose professions had deceived her, had cast off the mask, and was now seen in his true character. His vain and worldly nature stood abashed before the saintly spirit of Angélique. She had become an obstacle in his path, and he determined to get rid of her. Some of the nuns were touched by her steadfast endurance, her gentleness and humility, but this only increased the dislike of the Bishop, to whom the very sight of her sad face became an offence. The occasion for her dismissal soon presented itself, although not in the manner which she had proposed. A new Order had for some time been contemplated, consecrated to 'the perpetual adoration of the mystery of the Holy Sacrament.' It was a favourite project of the Bishop. The consent of Pope Urban VIII. had been obtained, but it found no favour with Louis XIII. nor with the Archbishop of Paris. Suddenly, in 1630, the king being at Lyons, he was attacked by illness, and his life being given over by the physicians, the viaticum was administered. The king suddenly recovered, and after this event the royal sanction was given to the new Order, but the Archbishop still delayed its foundation. He did not view M. de Langres with a favourable eye, and did not wish to be associated with him, or indeed with any one else, in the direction of the new Order. If the Order was to be founded, he determined to be its supreme head, and that Angélique should be the first Superior. To this M. de Langres was

strongly opposed, but after three years he was forced to give way. His desire to get rid of Angélique made him consent, and her nomination was decided upon.

Angélique well knew that M. de Langres was anxious to be relieved of her presence at Port-Royal. He had even told her that she was a stumbling-block in his path, and that her very shadow annoyed him.[1] Still, in spite of all she had suffered, she clung to the monastery which she had striven so hard to reform and purify; and now, when informed that she was to leave it, she accepted her removal as the crowning sacrifice of her own will, and said meekly, 'Send me wherever you please; I will go.'

The new Order was but a further development of a practice of devotion already in use at Port-Royal. The Carmelite nuns also called themselves 'Sisters of the Holy Eucharist,' and the new institution was from the first regarded with jealousy.

The Convent of the 'Saint Sacrement' was near the Louvre, and was therefore easy of access to the ladies of the Court. The church was to be richly decorated. Every nun was to be of good birth, of a wealthy family, and of refined manners, so as to be fit company for royalty. The dress was to be white and scarlet, becoming in make, and of costly material. The rule of silence was *not* to be observed. On the contrary, the nuns were expected to talk well and fluently on sacred matters. The spirit of the worldly-minded founder was visible throughout. This was the convent to which Angélique was sent as Mother Superior. Nothing could be more distasteful to her quiet unworldly spirit than the imposed conditions, but she had learned to surrender her own will and simply to obey. Her powers of organisation were once more called forth,

[1] 'Mémoires Historiques,' tom. ii. p. 374.

but she was hampered in her administration by the all-pervading influence of the Bishop and a Sister whom he had associated with Angélique, nominally to help her, but really to be a spy on all she said or did. It was not long before the Archbishop objected to some of the proceedings instituted by M. de Langres; the new Order, founded under such brilliant auspices and with so much display, was now generally looked upon as a failure, and finally the orthodoxy of the community was called in question.

A book of unpublished meditations known as 'Le Chapelet Secret,' written several years before by Agnes Arnauld for her own private use, was put into the hands of the doctors of the Sorbonne that its orthodoxy might be tested. Although unknown to most of the nuns, the book had been seen and approved by M. de Langres. He was indeed suspected of being himself the author. It was, however, condemned by the Sorbonne, and when sent to Rome, the Pope, though he refused to give it his censure, recommended its withdrawal as a possible cause of offence to the weaker Sisters. This decision was considered by M. de Langres as a reflection upon himself, and in his anxiety to clear himself from the charge of approving of false doctrine, he determined to apply for advice to the man at that time the most highly esteemed in France for learning and piety. This was the Abbé de Saint-Cyran.

The 'Chapelet' was placed in his hands. The book met with his approval; but by his desire it was laid before the University of Louvain and Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, who gave as their opinion that the book merely contained the devout utterances of a nun for her own use, and was not an attempt to lay down rules of faith.

The discussion made great noise in Paris. The Jesuits took the matter up, and brought a charge of heresy against

the nuns of the 'Saint Sacrement.' M. de Saint-Cyran defended them, and so successfully that M. de Langres, feeling deeply indebted to him for his support, entreated him to undertake the direction of his new institution. It was not till after urgent entreaties that M. de Saint-Cyran consented, and thus commenced his connection with Angélique and her community. This was the one act for which she had cause to be ever grateful to the Bishop.

The following year, 1636, on the return of M. de Langres to Paris, Angélique, with the approval of the Archbishop, retired from the post of Mother Superior of the Convent of the Saint Sacrement. Her place was filled by the Mère Geneviéve, and Angélique returned to Port-Royal-de-Paris, where, as Prioress, she began afresh the work of reform, aided by her sister Agnes, who was now Abbess.[1]

The anger of M. de Langres knew no bounds at the changes which Angélique had effected at his new institution since his departure. Extravagance had given place to simplicity, and laxity to order. He no longer looked with a friendly eye on M. de Saint-Cyran, who gave up his connection with the convent of the Saint-Sacrement.

It was about this time (1636) that M. Singlin became confessor to the community at Port-Royal, a man destined to play a conspicuous part in the history of the monastery.

During the Bishop's rule several of the Port-Royal nuns had been despatched to Tard. These by the order of the Archbishop were now recalled to Port-Royal, and the nuns of Tard sent back from Port-Royal to their own Abbey. The power of M. de Langres was at an end, and the very gates of the monastery of Port-Royal closed against him. He attributed this, not without reason, to the counter-influ-

[1] Agnes had been Abbess of Tard for six years before returning to Port-Royal.

ence of M. de Saint-Cyran, and thenceforth he became his enemy and traducer.[1]

A heavy debt had been incurred at Port-Royal under the direction of M. de Langres. This weighed heavily on Angélique, who was often at her wit's end for money. On one occasion, when she had not a single *sou* in the house, immediate payment was required for a bill amounting to 1200 francs. She knelt down and humbly told all her difficulties to Him in whom alone she put her trust, and later on in the same day a widow lady came, bringing with her the sum of 3300 francs, which she placed at Angélique's disposal.[2] By the practice of strict retrenchment, by cutting off all unnecessary and costly decorations in the services of the Church, and by the sale of the gold and silver ornaments and gorgeous embroidery which decked the holy altar, the wants of the poor were no longer neglected, and she was again enabled to give freely to those who needed help. Angélique felt that the praises of God could be as well sung by the nuns without musical accompaniment, and that things which merely attract the senses could not be really requisite to excite true devotion.

When the nuns sent to Tard returned to Port-Royal, some grave difficulties arose. Many of the Sisters were devoted adherents of M. de Langres and his system, and consequently were prejudiced against M. de Saint-Cyran. The Mère Agnes was not free from this feeling, but the most prominent in her resistance to his rule was Marie-Claire, her younger sister. She had taken the veil at Port-Royal-des-Champs, and had aided her sister Angélique in her work of reform at Maubuisson. Accustomed whilst at

[1] The Convent of the Saint-Sacrement before long ceased to exist, and the nuns were transferred by the Archbishop to Port-Royal.

[2] See 'Angélique Arnauld.' F. Martin.

Tard to the rule of M. de Langres, it was not till after a considerable time that she consented to place herself under the stricter direction of M. de Saint-Cyran.

At length she wrote him a penitent letter, requesting him to come and give her his advice and guidance. He came, but not till after some months, with the view of testing her sincerity. In the commencement of 1637 he saw her for the first time. He told her that he had not come with the intention of seeing her, but whilst in the church he had felt constrained to gratify her wish for an interview. What had she to say to him?

She then gave a full and detailed account of the past and present state of her mind.

When she had ended he said, 'You must examine your own heart before God, and see whether you have really been that which you have now made yourself to appear. Sometimes exaggeration of feeling hurries a person into saying what she does not believe, and into following a course which in her heart she does not approve. We must discriminate. Outward acts of penitence must proceed from an inward sense of contrition; these must correspond the one with the other. *For we must carefully guard against expressing outwardly more than we feel inwardly.* . . . Beware of exaggeration; there is more humility in a plain unvarnished confession. . . . I do not want emotional grief. Distrust your tears; I desire neither sighs nor mournful gestures, but a silent abasement of spirit. . . Pray to God, and be His in all simplicity, and without affectation.'

Marie-Claire begged to be allowed to prove her humility by assuming the habit and labours of a lay Sister. 'We will make you a lay Sister this Lent. You will have work to do, but not too much, that you may be able to persevere,

It is contrary to humility to wish to do extraordinary things. We are not saints merely for doing what saints do; we must be content to serve God in humble mediocrity, and not strive to *appear* above the common. Put yourself on an equality with the other lay Sisters in everything, and only try to be the humblest of them all.'

Later, when she wished him to give her an assurance of her spiritual safely, he said, 'I do not like this request. The soul which is truly given to God needs neither assurance nor foreknowledge. We are to live by faith.'

Marie-Claire under his guidance made rapid progress in the higher life. When she died in 1642, M. de Saint-Cyran was a prisoner at Vincennes, so that in her last hours she was without the comfort of his presence, but she had M. Singlin to minister to her. When told that death was near, there was a momentary apprehension, but perfect calm ensued, and she exclaimed, 'What a blessed thing it is to die in the full hope of eternal life!' Then lifting up the cross in her feeble hands, she cried in a voice of rapture, 'Victory! victory!' and her glad spirit entered within the veil.

As a director M. de Saint-Cyran was the same to all. He never flattered, never praised at the expense of truth—a sincerity rare even among good men. Great spiritual teachers, such as St. François de Sales, Bossuet, Fénelon, Massillon, all had recourse occasionally to flattery when they approached kings and princes; but M. de Saint-Cyran was proof against this weakness.[1] He had no fear of man; he had no other fear than the fear of God.

Among the great ladies who occasionally withdrew from the Court to Port-Royal for the quiet and refreshment

[1] See 'Port-Royal' (Sainte-Beuve), tom. i. p. 364.

of a Retreat, were the Princesse de Guemené and the Marquise de Sablé. These ladies gave the Mère Angélique considerable trouble. She always maintained her authority over these high-born penitents, but the fluctuations between devotion and dissipation which characterised Madame de Guemené's conduct created grave doubts in the mind of M. de Saint-Cyran as to the reality of her supposed conversion. Nevertheless her interest in the affairs of Port-Royal remained unabated: for twenty years after the death of M. de Saint-Cyran we find Madame de Guemené seeking to obtain the good offices of one of the king's ministers for the persecuted nuns.

The minister was the Chancellor M. le Tellier (the father of the Marquis de Louvois, the greatest of the ministers of Louis XIV.). His replies as to his royal master's intentions were curt and decisive, and finding that her words had no effect, Madame de Guemené boldly said, 'It is true, monsieur, that all that the king wills he is able to do. He has made princes of the blood,[1] he has made archbishops and bishops, and he will no doubt make martyrs.'

The Marquise de Sablé had in her youth been one of the idols of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and has been described by M. Victor Cousin as the type of the perfect *Précieuse*.[2] In spirit both she and Madame de Guemené

[1] In allusion to the king's illegitimate children.

[2] The society at the Hôtel de Rambouillet was formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1618). This Hôtel became the centre of a literary circle, where, under the presidency of the Marquise de Rambouillet, and her daughter, 'the divine Julie,' were collected persons of the most exalted position and the most varied talents. Among the names we find those of Cardinal Richelieu, the Prince de Condé, Malherbe, Vaugelas, Balzac, Voiture, Chapelain, Godeau, Corneille, Scarron, Scuderi, and to these we may add later on those of Bossuet and Fléchier. The distinguished women of the century met here; the Duchesse de Longueville, Madame de Sablé, and Madame de Sévigné were among those who thought

clung with tenacity to the old life, whilst professing themselves eager to begin the new. Of Madame de Sablé it has been said, that while living in the world she had always an eye to the cloister, and when walking in the paths of righteousness she had always one foot in the world.

Clever and agreeable, she was one of the great friends of M. de la Rochefoucauld, and to her he submitted his 'Maxims' for criticism.

In her later years, Madame de Sablé aided Madame de Longueville in her endeavours to bring peace to the Church. Possessed of great influence, she used it for the benefit of Port-Royal; but though no doubt to some extent a support, she was at the same time a trouble and perhaps a scandal to the good Sisters, from her whims and inconsistencies. Her dread of illness and fear of contagion were so exaggerated as to be almost a malady. She held exhaustive conferences with her spiritual adviser, anxious consultations as to her bodily health with her medical attendant, and had much careful discussion with her *chef* on culinary matters. Madame de Sablé was so strange a compound that she could scarcely have been a congenial guest at Port-Royal or a satisfactory penitent.[1]

The members of the Arnauld family had become very numerous at the monastery. Madame Arnauld (the mother of Angélique) had taken the veil there, and besides Angélique's sisters, many of her nieces (the daughters of her brother M. Arnauld d'Andilly) were among the community. Her nephews had become recluses under the

it an honour to belong to this society, and who took as a diploma of talent the name of '*Les Précieuses*,' a title afterwards brought into ridicule by Molière. The men who were admitted to the Hôtel Rambouillet were called '*les esprits doux*.' See 'Les Premiers Jansenistes,' Monseigneur Ricard.

[1] See Sainte-Beuve (Port-Royal), tom. v. 55.

guidance of M. de Saint-Cyran, and rooms had been built by Madame le Maitre in the large courtyard of Port-Royal-de-Paris to receive them; her sons having been the first to belong to the little band of recluses.

They had no communication with the nuns; each in his hermit cell leading a life of prayer and obedience.

But in 1638 M. de Saint-Cyran was suddenly arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes, and a little later the recluses, by a decree of the Archbishop of Paris (Gondi), were dismissed from their tenement in the courtyard of the monastery in Paris.

At the close, however, of the year 1639, the recluses quietly took up their abode in the deserted monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs without molestation. After the death of Cardinal Richelieu in December 1642, M. de Saint-Cyran was released from prison, but a greater release soon followed.

To the inexpressible grief of Angélique, he died in the following year (1643). When the news of his death reached her, she could only repeat with profound emotion, 'God is in heaven,' 'The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.' This was the one sustaining thought, and to His will she bowed herself down.

Among those who were present at the funeral of M. de Saint-Cyran was Marie de Gonzague, Princess of Mantua. She had been drawn to Port-Royal in 1643 to seek consolation after the tragic death of M. de Cinq Mars, to whom she had been affianced.[1] She came with the inten-

[1] Cinq Mars was the son of a French noble, the Marquis d'Effiat. Full of life and gaiety, he had been placed by Richelieu about the person of Louis XIII. as a lively companion. The king, always in need of a favourite, soon became greatly attached to his new friend, who seemed likely to attain the same degree of favour as the former favourite, the Duc de Luynes. But Cinq Mars was far from being the frivolous youth Richelieu had supposed. He was ambitious and capable of deep thoughts and

tion of placing herself in her great sorrow under the spiritual direction of M. de Saint-Cyran; but she came only to be present at his interment.

The sympathy and kindness of the Mère Angélique gained her heart, and for a time she seemed to lean to a conventual life; but she soon changed her mind. By nature vain and romantic, Marie de Gonzague was dazzled by the thought of a throne, though her affections had perished on a scaffold. She accepted the offer of marriage made by Sigismond, king of Poland. She made no disguise of her motive in this decision. When asked if she would not wish to see the portrait of her future husband, she had the frankness to reply that she had no need of the king's picture, she was only marrying his crown.

Her marriage was not a happy one, and she must often have regretted the calm and quiet life at Port-Royal. Her affection for Mère Angélique never slackened, and she kept up a continual correspondence with her till Angélique's death. As Queen of Poland she gave largely in charities, and when her friends remonstrated, she replied, 'I do not care to amass wealth, for however poor I may be as a widow, I know that I shall always be taken in by Mère Angélique at Port-Royal.' She, however, outlived her revered friend six years.

Arnauld's book, 'De la Fréquente Communion,' appeared

schemes. The complete subjugation in which the king was held by the Prime Minister aroused his youthful indignation, and, with the secret approval of the Queen, Anne of Austria, and the connivance of the king himself, Cinq Mars joined in a plot to overthrow the all-powerful Cardinal. But Richelieu, though broken in health, was on the watch. He discovered that the conspirators had made a secret treaty with Spain, the avowed enemy of France, and he succeeded in obtaining a copy of this treaty with the signature of Cinq Mars. Possessed of this flagrant proof of his treason, Richelieu forced the reluctant king to order the immediate arrest of his favourite. Cinq Mars perished on the scaffold in September 1642. He was but twenty-one. The Cardinal was already a dying man, and three months later he followed his victim to the grave.

in 1643, and though received with enthusiasm at first, it was soon followed by a storm of censure and ill-feeling, which extended to Port-Royal. The orthodoxy of the nuns was called in question, and a formal visitation of the monastery was ordered by the Archbishop. But the close investigation which ensued only led to a favourable judgment, both as to the mode of direction which had been pursued by M. de Saint-Cyran and its practical effect on the community. The visitors were sent to condemn, but they were forced to approve. 'We find here,' they said, 'only virtue, piety, and sanctity.'[1]

Angélique was again elected Abbess. Her thoughts now turned to her old home, and in May 1648, five years after the death of M. de Saint-Cyran, she led back a small band of devoted women to Port-Royal-des-Champs, and the recluses who had been inhabiting the monastery withdrew to a farm on the height called 'Les Granges.' Her sister Agnes was left at the head of the Paris sisterhood.

The day before Angélique's departure she was visited by the coadjutor of the Archbishop, M. de Retz, who gave her his benediction, and assured her of his high esteem and respect.

A few months after Angélique's return, the civil war of the Fronde broke out in which De Retz played such a conspicuous part, and all the boundless charity of Angélique was called forth to mitigate the distress around Port-Royal. This struggle for power between the Parliament of Paris and Anne of Austria, now Queen Regent of France, and

[1] In one of Madame de Sévigné's letters she speaks of a visit to the monastery in these words: 'Ce Port-Royal est une Thébaïde; c'est un paradis; c'est un désert où toute la dévotion du Christianisme s'est rangée; c'est une sainteté répandue dans tout le pays à une lieue de ronde; il y a cinq ou six solitaires qu'on ne connaît point, qui vivent comme les pénitents de Saint Jean-Climaque; les religieuses sont des anges sur terre.'

her minister Mazarin occurred just as the civil war in England was drawing to its tragic close.

The primary cause was Mazarin's unwise appointment of an Italian to the administration of finance. This was followed by the imprisonment of two worthy magistrates, unsullied in character, whose only offence had been opposition to Mazarin from patriotic motives. The people of Paris took up arms, barricades were raised in the streets, and Parliament sided with the populace. Louis XIV. and the Queen-Mother fled from the capital, which was soon after held by the Parliamentary forces under the Prince de Conti against his brother, the great Condé, and the royal army. This unhappy war violently agitated France for some years.

The wretchedness and destitution in the city and neighbourhood of Paris are vividly described in Angélique's letters. All agricultural labour was at an end, and a lawless soldiery ravaged the country and levied contributions on the peaceable inhabitants.

Port-Royal-des-Champs during this period of suffering became a refuge for all the distressed within reach, the sick and wounded of both sides were alike received and carefully tended by Angélique and her nuns, and even the Sisters from other houses found shelter within the walls of her monastery.

But the progress of the war at last forced her to retreat, and in 1652 Angélique withdrew with her community to Paris, leaving the recluses to defend her sanctuary as best they might. They seem to have performed their part well. For a time Port-Royal-des-Champs must have partaken more of the camp than the convent. In place of hymns was heard the sound of arms. Recruits were drawn from the neighbouring peasantry. The walls were

manned and intrenchments formed to resist the expected assault. But the restoration of peace in 1653 put an end to this unwonted state of things. Angélique and her sisterhood returned to Port-Royal-des-Champs, and the recluses to their former life at 'Les Granges.'

During the wars of the Fronde Angélique found devoted friends in the Duc and Duchesse de Luynes. The Duc de Luynes was the son of the well-known favourite of Louis XIII. His wife had wished before her marriage to enter the cloister, but her wishes were overruled, and she became the wife of the Duc de Luynes. Though happy in her marriage, the life of a grande dame at the Court of Louis XIV. had no attraction for her. Gradually she persuaded her husband to retire from Court life, and to build a small château near Port-Royal-des-Champs, where they might live in holy seclusion and assist the Mère Angélique in works of charity. Two of her little girls were placed under the care of Angélique. But before the Château de Vaumurier was completed, the young Duchesse died. She was the first of those celebrated women, such as Madame de Liancourt,[1] Madame de

[1] The Duchesse de Liancourt was the daughter of the Maréchal de Schomberg. At the age of twenty she married the Duc de Liancourt, a young, gay, brilliant man of the world, who gave her great cause for jealousy. The Duchesse suffered much from his lightness of conduct, but never wavered in her affection. She sought in every way to please and interest her husband, and waited patiently in the hope of drawing him back to herself. It was for him that she planned and planted the beautiful gardens at Liancourt, for him she filled the house with guests well known for their social and intellectual attraction. She considered his tastes and overlooked his failings. One day a bill for some jewels given to an unworthy rival was brought to her by mischance. She paid the bill and ignored the offence. When the Duc was stricken with small-pox, she shut herself up with him as his nurse. Such unselfish devotion could hardly fail of a fitting reward. His heart opened to her uncomplaining tenderness, and when she herself was in turn smitten with a dangerous illness, the full force of his love returned in his fear of losing her. For eighteen years she had prayed and striven to lead him towards a religious life, and now the

Longueville, Mademoiselle de Vertus, whose virtues gave an additional halo to Port-Royal-des-Champs.

After his wife's death, the Duc de Luynes continued to reside at Vaumurier, leading the life of a hermit. When however, the second war of the Fronde broke out, he received the recluses into his house for greater safety, and took the lead in all the defensive operations at Port-Royal.

It was he also who undertook the renovation of the old convent buildings, which had fallen into decay. New dormitories were built at his expense, and by this means he gave work to the miserable peasantry in a time of sore distress.

But the storm which had long been threatening was now about to burst on the heads of the Port-Royalists.

M. de Retz, the coadjutor and nephew of M. de Gondi, the Archbishop of Paris, had given Port-Royal his protection as far as was possible during the wars of the Fronde. The great Frondeur was now in prison at Vincennes, but the enmity of Mazarin was still active, and he eyed with suspicion all those who were supposed to be friendly to his

desire of her heart was granted. They had but one son, who died young, leaving an only daughter, Mademoiselle de la Roche-Guyon, who was placed, when nine years old, at Port-Royal. Mère Angélique received frequent visits from Madame de Liancourt, which she names in her letters. The Duc, who had adopted something of the life of a penitent, saw much of the recluses, and accompanied M. Arnauld d'Andilly to Vincennes to see the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, but these visits to Vincennes were speedily put an end to by Richelieu. The Duchesse died in 1674, and the Duc only outlived her a few weeks.

It is touching to read of the profound veneration in which this virtuous and remarkable couple were held by the greatest courtier of the day. The young Prince de Marsillac, son of the famous Duc de la Rochefoucauld, inherited their estates, having married their granddaughter, and he would not permit a single alteration to be made at Liancourt; all was to be left as they had left it, and he sheltered in his house for their sakes some of the persecuted recluses, one of whom died there, who had ministered to the Duc and Duchesse in their last hours. See 'Port-Royal' (Sainte-Beuve), tom. v. p. 49.

adversary. The Jesuits, whose enmity had never flagged, were not slow to take advantage of this suspicion, and to instil into his mind grave doubts both as to the orthodoxy and the loyalty of the Port-Royalists. They had recourse to every species of calumny against both the nuns and recluses. These open and slanderous attacks had been for a time silenced by the authority of the Archbishop, but the Jesuits continued their hostile work in secret. Their anger was increased and their jealousy aroused by the crowds which thronged to hear the preaching of M. Singlin at Port-Royal-de-Paris, and they waited eagerly for the moment when the whole community, directors, nuns, and recluses, could be openly branded with heresy as followers of Jansenius. That moment came. A formulary had been drawn up in 1649 by an enemy of the Port-Royalists, containing five ambiguous propositions said to be extracted from Jansen's book the 'Augustinus.' These propositions were dispatched to Rome, and condemned by a Bull of Pope Innocent X. after four years' consideration. The recluses bowed to the decision of the Holy See, but denied that these propositions were to be found in Jansen's book. Angélique and her sisterhood took no part in the contention. 'It was not the province of nuns,' she said, 'to argue and dispute. To serve God in silence was the rule of their Order. As daughters of the Church, they submitted to the Papal decree, but did not profess to understand the propositions.'

About the same time as the appearance of these five disputed points, some words which M. Singlin had uttered in the course of a sermon on 'Divine Grace' had been laid hold of by the Jesuits, and reported to the Archbishop of Paris as heretical. M. Singlin was consequently for a while prohibited from preaching, and though his orthodoxy

was speedily re-established under the highest authority (the Archbishop himself coming to Port-Royal-de-Paris to hear him preach), yet a shadow had been cast on the teaching at this church, which the Jesuits did their best to deepen.

In 1654, the year after the issue of this Bull by Pope Innocent, M. de Gondi died, and in him Angélique lost a friend and protector. De Retz was now Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, but the dignity did not give him liberty; he was still a prisoner at Vincennes.

Fresh troubles arose. Arnauld was expelled from the Sorbonne in 1656, and the Queen-Mother, under the influence of Mazarin, gave orders for the immediate dispersion of the recluses and their schools. The monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs was inspected by the 'Lieutenant Civil,' and Angélique underwent a close interrogatory.

But just at this moment an incident occurred which changed the whole course of events and procured a respite from further persecution. A strange thing took place at Port-Royal-de-Paris. Among the boarders was a niece of Blaise Pascal, Marguerite Périer, a girl of ten years old. She had for three years past suffered from an affection of the left eye, painful and disfiguring. Every known remedy had failed, and the case being thought incurable, she was now, as a last resource, to have her eye cauterised. But the operation was destined not to take place. The girl was to be the subject of a cure of so marvellous a nature as to be justly considered miraculous, if proved to be true.

The community had lately been sent a relic of peculiar sanctity. It was nothing less, it was said, than a thorn from the Saviour's crown. So precious an object was received with the utmost reverence at Port-Royal-de-Paris. It was placed carefully within a small reliquary on an altar in the centre of the choir. After mass, a procession was formed,

and the Sisters, one by one, reverently kissed the relic as they knelt in adoration before it. After this the boarders were admitted, led by their mistress, Sister Flavie Passart, and when the turn of Marguerite Périer came, Sister Flavie whispered, 'Pray, my child, pray that you may be healed,' at the same time touching the girl's eye with the reliquary.

That evening Marguerite ran to one of the Sisters, and said in joyful excitement, 'I believe I am cured.' It proved to be the case. The Mère Agnes and the relations of the child kept silence, but the news spread far and wide. Five physicians and two surgeons signed a certificate of the cure, and their opinion was confirmed by the Court-surgeon, who investigated the case by command of the Queen-Mother. It was in Lent 1656 that this wonderful incident occurred, which was known as 'The Miracle of the Holy Thorn.'

That it was very generally credited is certain, and it had the effect of delaying the fall of Port-Royal.

Calumnious tongues were silenced. Persecution for a time was stayed. How was it possible that heresy could exist in a community favoured by so signal a miracle? The Mère Angélique in a letter to Marie de Gonzague, queen of Poland, wrote thus: 'At the very moment when all seemed lost and without resource, God has protected us;' but true to her character, she refrained from much notice of what had occurred. In a letter to her sister, the Mère Agnes, she says, 'Desire not that God should deliver His truth by *visible miracles*, but by that *invisible marvel*, the conversion of hearts, which takes place without rumour and noise.'[1]

The effect produced on the outer world was immense. Crowds assembled to behold the relic which had displayed

[1] Lettres de la Mère Angélique.

such wonderful power. Henrietta-Maria, the exiled queen of England, made a pilgrimage thither. The Queen-Mother's favour was restored to the Port-Royalists; the order for the dispersion of the recluses and their scholars was rescinded; the former returned to their hermitage at Les Granges, and the voices of children were again heard in the schools of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

The Jesuits did not attempt to deny the miracle, but regarded it they said as a merciful intervention from on high to turn the Port-Royalists from their errors,[1] whilst to the friends of Port-Royal it as clearly manifested that 'the hand of God was with them, visibly rebuking calumny and persecution.' To Angélique and the community the great gain by this change of feeling was the formal appointment of M. Singlin to the office of director. Once more they had peace and rest at Port-Royal, but the Jansenist controversy was not relinquished. In 1657 a new and more stringent test was prepared. A Bull was procured from the new Pope, Alexander VII. (Cardinal Chigi), declaring that the five controverted propositions were unquestionably in Jansen's book (the 'Augustinus'), and the Jesuits were resolved that this new formulary should be accepted and signed by all Port-Royalists.

About this time Père Annat was appointed confessor to the king, and from that moment the fate of Port-Royal was sealed.

[1] In the gallery of the Louvre there is a striking picture by Philippe de Champagne, which once adorned the walls of Port-Royal-de-Paris. It records another miracle of healing which took place early in 1662, but which, unlike that of 'the Holy Thorn,' was little known by the outer world. It represents a nun half raised on a couch, with her hands clasped in prayer, whilst by her side is the Mère Agnes rapt in devotion. The nun who was thus healed by prayer was the daughter of the painter, who painted this picture in grateful memory of the event, and presented it to Port-Royal. It was a commemorative offering, and the only work of art which was allowed to decorate the walls of this monastery.

In 1660 the first blow was struck. An order was issued for the immediate dispersion of the schools. The death of Mazarin early in the following year gave the young king unlimited power—the influence of the Queen-Mother was at an end, and he assumed the reins of government. Persecution of the sisterhoods of Port-Royal quickly followed. On the 23rd of April 1661 a royal command was issued for the expulsion within three days of all the boarders and novices from both houses. No new Sisters were to be received. M. Singlin was deprived of his post as Superior. M. de Saci was no longer to be confessor to the nuns.

The dreaded formulary was to be put in force. All ecclesiastics, all religious communities, male and female, were required to subscribe their names declaring that the 'five propositions' in their heretical sense were to be found in the 'Augustinus.' No exception was permitted in favour of those who had not read or even seen the book, which, being in Latin, was not within the compass of most nuns.

Angélique and her sisterhood refused to affix their signatures to what they believed to be a false statement. The suppression of the time-honoured monastery as 'contumacious and heretical' was threatened; but Angélique remained firm and undismayed. No power could induce her to attest a lie. She foresaw that cloudy and dark days were before them, but she preserved an invincible courage to the last—a courage tempered by unfeigned humility; whilst all around her were bewailing their fate, her voice was heard cheering and encouraging them. To her brother, M. d'Andilly, who was the last of the recluses to leave Les Granges, she said, 'We shall know in another world, and perhaps even in this, for what cause God permits His servants and even His truth to be thus oppressed.

When told that the nuns at Port-Royal-de-Paris were to be thus deprived of their spiritual directors, she at once determined, weak and ill as she was, to return to Paris, where persecution was most severe.

In April 1661 she left Port-Royal-des-Champs, the home so dear to her, never again to look upon its woods and meadows.

She arrived at Port-Royal-de-Paris the very day of the visit of the 'Lieutenant Civil' to enforce the expulsion within three days of all the boarders, and to forbid the reception of any novices. She found the gates guarded and the courtyard lined with archers. Passing through the midst of them, Angelique met the weeping nuns with a brave heart and cheerful countenance. 'What!' she said, 'do I see tears here? . . . Have you no faith? You hope in God and yet you are afraid! Is it that men bestir themselves against us? As for me, I fear them no more than this fly,' brushing one off as she spoke. 'Believe me, fear God and all will go well.'[1] Then raising her eyes to heaven, she prayed, 'My God, have pity on Thy children. Thy holy will be done.'

But though she maintained her firmness, the heart of Angélique was wrung by the lamentations of the children and the young girls about to become novices, who were now to be withdrawn from Port-Royal. Mademoiselle de Luynes was one of the postulants. She had been brought up by the Mère Angélique from early childhood. She now begged earnestly to be allowed to take the veil, but Angélique would not consent to this irrevocable step without the sanction of her family. An appeal was made to the Queen-Mother, but her reply was that

[1] 'Histoire de Port-Royal' (Amsterdam), part 1.

all the novices as well as postulants must without exception be dismissed.

When the day came for the departure of Mademoiselle de Luynes, Angélique herself led her to the gate of the monastery. The girl's grandmother, the Duchesse de Chévreuse, was there to receive her. The Duchesse could not refrain from expressing her admiration at the courage and self-control of the Mère Angélique. 'Madame,' she replied, 'if there were no God in heaven, I should lose heart, but while God is God I will hope in Him.'

Then tenderly embracing Mademoiselle de Luynes, whose tears flowed fast, she said, 'Go, my daughter: confide with your whole heart in God and in His infinite goodness. We shall see one another again where man will have no power to part us.'[1]

In conversation with the nuns, Angélique dwelt much on the dignity of these afflictions, saying it made her tremble that poor sinful women should have been counted worthy to suffer for the truth, and she urged them to pray that these chastisements might deepen their humility and strengthen their faith. She saw there was a danger lest the nuns should regard themselves as martyrs for their religion, and that self-exaltation instead of penitence should be the result of their persecutions. God does all things, she said, in His infinite love and infinite wisdom. We must have needed the afflictions which have befallen us for our humiliation. It might have been dangerous for our souls if our prosperity had continued. Suffering is sometimes more necessary for us than bread.

Angélique would have no comparisons drawn in favour of her Order over others. 'As for me,' she said, 'I am of the Order of all saints, and all saints are of my Order.'

[1] 'Histoire de Port-Royal-de-Paris' (Amsterdam), part 1.

The aspect of affairs became more menacing, and the 10th May 1662 was appointed as a day of intercession to be held in the church of Port-Royal. A solemn procession took place, and the Mère Angélique, in spite of her extreme weakness, was present. She walked with tottering steps, carrying in her hand the most precious relic of their treasure-house—a piece of the true Cross. It was her last effort. When she reached the choir, her strength failed, and she fell fainting to the ground. She was carried from the sacred building to her bed, from which she never rose.

She was conscious that for her the race was well-nigh run; her physical strength was fast declining, but whilst life and power remained she would leave no duty unfulfilled. With many intervals from extreme exhaustion, she dictated a letter from her death-bed to the Queen-Mother, Anne of Austria. She asked neither sympathy nor favour for herself, thus persecuted in her old age, but gave her dying testimony that 'the sisterhood had been treated with cruel injustice. Their faith had been impugned, their morality suspected. Whilst she could declare in the sight of the living God that they were virtuous, serving God in faith and humility; submissive to the Pope, firmly attached to the Catholic Church in which they were born, and in which by God's grace they were resolved to live and die.' This was her last act. 'My earthly labours are done,' she exclaimed when she had affixed her signature. The letter was of no avail.

It was whilst thus lingering between life and death that Angélique received a visit from the heroine of the Fronde, Madame de Longueville. The sight of Angélique, old and dying, but retaining all her faith and intrepidity, touched the heart of her visitor. Madame de Longueville had at

that time no predilections for the Jansenists, but Angélique's saintly look and words recalled to her mind other and holier days, when, in the Convent of the Carmelites, her first religious feelings were stirred, and the gentle Prioress was the object of her youthful veneration.[1] The fervour and undaunted courage of Angélique also touched a chord in the heart of the heroine of the Fronde, and she left Port-Royal deeply impressed by her visit.

Angélique lingered on till the month of August; words not of murmur, but of humility and thanksgiving were ever heard from her lips. Deprived of M. Singlin, her spiritual director, who had been forced to conceal himself, and seeing at rare intervals her nephew, M. de Saci, who was also in danger of being arrested, she invariably stopped those who would have condoled with her, saying, 'It is God's will, that is enough for me.' 'I believe M. Singlin to be as present with me by his love as though I saw him here with my eyes. Let us go direct to the source, which is God. *I put no man in the place of God.*' When it was broken to her that M. de Saci, who was her confessor, could no longer come to her, she said, 'God so wills it. Say farewell to my poor nephew. I shall perhaps never see him again, but I do not trouble. My nephew without God could not help me, and God without my nephew will do all things for me.'[2]

M. Singlin wrote to her from his place of concealment. She sent him a message in reply in which she says, 'When we have humbly eaten the bread of affliction, I trust that God will raise us up and console us.'

She encouraged the Sisters by her faith, and spoke with

[1] See 'Madame de Sablé' (Victor Cousin), p. 228. It was shortly after this visit that Madame de Longueville sought to have an interview with M. Singlin.

[2] 'Histoire de Port-Royal' (Amsterdam), part 1, p. 55.

all the courage and animation of former years, bidding them not disquiet themselves as to what might happen. 'Even if you were like Jonah in the whale's belly, God in His own time will deliver you.'

A few days before her death she begged the nuns to forgive any hasty word that had fallen from her. She knew that she was quick and impulsive by nature; and so tender was her conscience, that in earlier days the Abbess had often knelt and asked pardon of a Sister for some word which had escaped her, for which her spirit was grieved, whilst all but herself felt that she had set them an example of wondrous patience and charity. As she entered the valley of the shadow of death, great fear fell upon the soul till now so brave. She was overwhelmed for a time by its terrors; 'the snares of death compassed her round about,' and she 'found trouble and heaviness.' Like the Psalmist of old, doubts and questionings arose, 'Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath He in anger shut up His tender mercies and cut me off from before His eyes?' In her anguish she described herself 'as a criminal at the place of execution;' but the Lord in whom she trusted delivered her from her distress, and her parting words to M. Singlin, who with M. de Saci had ventured forth in disguise to administer to her the Sacraments, were full, of child-like trust: 'I promise you I will no longer fear. Truly when He giveth peace, who then can give trouble?'

Her brother, M. Arnauld, wrote to the Mère Agnes, 'There is nothing more afflicting than this sense of fear. God is proving her to the last, and she is passing through the most terrible purgatory, that of mental anguish; but it is this which our Lord Jesus Christ Himself willed to suffer, and it seems to be the trial allotted to those souls who are the strongest and most firmly established in holiness.'

The last few days she begged to be left alone with God: and when any one drew near to speak to her, she would say, 'It is time, Sister, to *sabbathise*.'[1]

She passed away on Saturday, the 6th of August 1661: her last words were, 'Miserere mei Domine. Te Domine expectavi. In Te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum.'

Before she was laid in the grave the poor were admitted to see for the last time one whom they had loved as a mother. To them she was a saint, and as they reverently kissed the hands which had so often ministered to their wants, they touched them with rosaries and medals, believing that virtue would still go forth from her to help them.[2]

She was buried without pomp, according to her wish, in the Convent Church of Port-Royal-de-Paris.

[1] See 'Port-Royal' (Sainte-Beuve), vol. iv. p. 160.
[2] 'Histoire de Port-Royal' (Amsterdam), part 1. p. 96.

ANTOINE ARNAULD.

B. 1612. D. 1694.

'The "new man" is not formed all at once, any more than the old; he begins by imperfect conception; he is only fashioned little by little, and it needs often a great deal of time for his full development.'

'Contrition and love of God are acts of the will, and acts of the will are not thoughts, but motions, inclinations, and, so to speak, *leanings of the heart towards its object.*

'Now to say to God, either audibly or inwardly, that we love Him, and to turn our mind towards Him, is merely a thought, a mental reflection, and consequently not *an act of love* to God, but at best a *testimony* of that love which we bear Him, if in truth we bear it, just as those protestations of friendship which a man makes us are only *demonstrations* of affection, and *not affection itself;* and experience proves to us but too clearly that all these demonstrations may exist without any real affection in the heart.

'What is it then to love God, or to have a true contrition for one's sin?

'Let each one consult his heart, and if he finds therein some strong affection, either of a husband towards his wife, or of a father towards his children, or of a friend towards his friend, let him examine its movements, and it will be easy for him to learn what it is to love God, and to feel that there are many who persuade themselves that they are often making acts of love to God when they possess not even the shadow of that love. . . .

'For a woman to love her husband, she must have a

certain force, a certain bent of the will, by which she is drawn with a sweet and secret constraint to serve him, to obey him, to conform to his wishes, to strive to please him in all things, to have his interests alone at heart, and his happiness her sole joy, to feel his sorrows more keenly than her own, to find a charm in his presence, to languish in his absence, to fear nothing so much as to wound in the smallest degree the purity of her love, and even to be ready to give her life, if the occasion presented itself, to save that of her husband.

'This is what men call love—not words and thoughts, which are only products of the mind, and not effusions of the heart.

'It is by this imperfect image that we ought to judge whether the love of God reigns within our souls, whether in the depths of our heart there is a separation from the things of this world, an attachment to the things of God, contempt for the pomps and vanities of this life, and joy in the expectation of the eternal blessedness; whether there is a mortal fear of offending God, a fervent desire to please Him in all things, a firm determination to fly from all occasions which may lead us into sin, and finally a full resolve to forsake all rather than forsake the service of Jesus Christ and the narrow way of the Gospel.

'If, without any flattery or self-deception, we find our hearts thus disposed, at least in some degree (which is better known by our actions and rule of life than by aspirations which may easily deceive us), we have then some reason to believe that we love God, and to give Him thanks for His infinite mercy in having enkindled our souls with a flame of that celestial fire which Jesus Christ brought from heaven to earth.

'But if there is nothing of all this, it is in vain we persuade ourselves that, by having pronounced certain words or formed certain thoughts, we have brought forth acts of love to God.'

'No prison is to be feared, except that of a soul held

in chains by its own vices and passions, and thus hindered from enjoying the liberty of the sons of God.'

'The evils of this world are terrible from a distance; but we accustom ourselves to them when we see them face to face; God's grace makes all things endurable, besides the fact that our sorrows are always less than our sins deserve.'

'Happy he who, at the cost of surrendering all, becomes possessed of Christ, and carries high the Cross as his only inheritance.'—ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

Antoine Arnauld, better known as the Great Arnauld, was the twentieth and last child born to Antoine Arnauld and his wife Catherine Marion.

He was the brother of Arnauld d'Andilly, and also of the Mère Angélique and the Mère Agnes, both Abbesses of Port-Royal. He numbered amongst his nephews Antoine le Maître and De Saci, names famous in the annals of Port-Royal.

Antoine Arnauld was three years younger than his elder nephew, Le Maître, and about the same age as De Saci, and he pursued his studies with these two nephews, who always addressed him as 'Petit Oncle.' At school he gave evidence of his mental powers by his extraordinary facility in learning; he was able to recite his lessons, according to M. le Maître, without any further preparation than being the last of the three to repeat them. After finishing his course at college, he applied himself for some time to the study of the law, but his mother disapproved of his making this his profession, and he accordingly renounced his own intention, and commenced the study of theology at the Sorbonne under M. Lescot.

In our notice of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran we have mentioned Arnauld's great success at the University, his brilliant talents, and extensive learning, and also the great religious change which afterwards took place in him—a change in which the Abbé took the deepest interest. We have seen that, from his prison at Vincennes, he gave that spiritual help and counsel which led Antoine Arnauld to renounce all worldly distinction and withdraw to the seclusion of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

In 1640 the 'Augustinus' of Jansen had appeared, and had excited universal notice and discussion. Arnauld, in the midst of a life of devotion, could not refrain from taking part in the defence of the far-famed book, so precious to the heart of M. de Saint-Cyran, and destined to sustain so many assaults. With this object he put forth a little work on the love of God, in answer to a Jesuit father; but it was the appearance of his book, 'De la Fréquente Communion,' which especially aroused the attention of the theological world. In this work, published in 1643 (the year Saint-Cyran died), Arnauld boldly supported the teaching of Jansenius, and especially insisted on the necessity of sincere repentance before presuming to come to Holy Communion. He denounced the prevailing practice of admitting persons to that sacred rite indiscriminately without *special* preparation, so that the Eucharist had become to many little more than a ceremony, a superstitious remedy for sin,[1] and not a means of spiritual renovation. A system had, in fact, sprung up among some Jesuit confessors of making things easy for the high-born penitent, and it was directly against this 'Chemin de Velours' that Arnauld levelled his censure in 'La Fréquente Communion.' In the

[1] See 'Port-Royal' (Sainte-Beuve), tom. ii. p. 176.

sketch of M. de Saint-Cyran we have given the incident which led to the publication of this once famous book, now forgotten.

Long and bitter controversy ensued, and though for a time Arnauld triumphed over his adversaries, his triumph was of short duration. Cardinal Mazarin was now in Richelieu's place,[1] and when the controversy excited by 'La Fréquente Communion' was at its height (March 1644), the intrigues of the Jesuits induced him to issue an order commanding Arnauld to appear before the Pope and the tribunal of the Inquisition and defend his doctrines. But the act of Mazarin roused the indignation of the Sorbonne; the French bishops regarded it as an infringement of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and Mazarin was forced to revoke the order. The book, and not the writer, was to be submitted to Papal examination, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Jesuits to get it condemned, 'La Fréquente Communion' was not placed on the 'Index Expurgatorius.'

Arnauld, ever ready for battle in defence of truth, had been eager to obey the summons to Rome. But M. de Barcos, who had also been cited to appear, received a friendly caution that the prisons of the Inquisition awaited them. He prudently withdrew into the country, and, by the urgent advice of his friends, Arnauld likewise concealed himself, to avoid the threatened danger. From this time forth, whilst his name was on every one's lips, Arnauld was hidden, and for years a mystery enveloped his hiding-place.

Through the influence of the Jesuits, the 'Augustinus' had been censured by Pope Urban VIII.,[2] and in a Bull two years after the publication of Jansen's book, Urban

[1] Richelieu died in 1642.

[2] Barberini.

interdicted all further controversy on the subject of 'Grace.' But this Bull of 1642 was not considered decisive by the Jansenists. It was, in fact, but a reproduction of the censures pronounced by Popes Pius V. and Gregory XIII. a hundred years before against the Augustinian doctrines proclaimed by Baius, who, like Jansen, had sought to restore purity of doctrine to the Church. 'The University of Louvain refused to believe that the Holy Father could mean to condemn what was the acknowledged doctrine of St. Augustine;' the Sorbonne followed in the same track, and, in spite of a decree from the king commanding the Theological Faculty to receive it, the Sorbonne, as well as the University of Louvain, refused to accept or publish the Bull. They however forbade all the doctors of the two colleges to maintain any of the condemned propositions.[1]

For nearly five years the controversy was kept under in France, but in the Netherlands it raged with unabated fury.

In 1649, a Jesuit, Nicholas Cornet, Syndic of the Faculty of Theology in Paris, artfully compiled seven subtle propositions, all of which referred to the doctrine of grace, and were said to be extracted from the 'Augustinus.' These he laid before the Theological body, to determine whether they were heretical or orthodox, he being unable to decide the question himself. Cornet's proceeding was violently opposed: not only Arnauld, but no less than seventy doctors asserted that it was a manifest attempt to cast opprobrium on Jansen, by falsely assuming that these were doctrines maintained by him, and that to initiate such a discussion was in defiance of the Papal decree.

[1] See Beard's 'Port-Royal,' vol. i. p. 245.

Nevertheless, deputies were appointed to examine the propositions, which were then restricted to *five*, and sent to Rome for the Pope's consideration.[1]

Urban VIII. had died in 1644, and Innocent X.,[2] an old man of seventy-two, wily and irresolute in character, had succeeded him on the Papal throne. After much pressure on the part of the Jesuits, supported by a letter to the Pope from the young king, Louis XIV., Innocent gave way. He did so with great reluctance; he said he was an old man; canon law had been his profession, and he had not studied theology. Moreover, there were three senses in which the five propositions might be understood, which added considerably to the difficulty of a decision. Finally, after four years of disputation, he gave them his formal condemnation. All were pronounced heretical, and the first and last impious, and even blasphemous.

In this Bull, however, it was *not* asserted that these five propositions, as drawn up by Cornet, were in the 'Augus-

[1] These are the five propositions, 'bristling with controversy,' which were put forth by Cornet, and which he professed to have extracted from the 'Augustinus':—

1. There are divine commandments which good men, although willing, are unable to obey; and the grace by which those commandments are possible is also wanting to them.

2. No person in the state of fallen nature is able to resist internal grace.

3. In order to render human actions meritorious or otherwise, liberty from necessity is not required, but only liberty from restraint.

4. The Semi-Pelagians, while admitting the necessity of prevenient grace, or grace preceding all actions, were heretics, inasmuch as they said that this grace was such as man could, according to his will, either resist or obey.

5. The Semi-Pelagians also erred in saying that Christ died or shed His blood for all men universally.*

[2] Cardinal Pamphili.

* Pascal (Principal Tulloch).

tinus,' but that the dispute had arisen in consequence of the publication of Jansen's book. After the judgment had been given, the Jansenist deputies had an audience of the Pope to receive his benediction. He treated them with great urbanity and kindness, and professed to have been much edified both by their words and conduct: and when, emboldened by his gracious manner, they took courage to say that they felt assured that His Holiness did not intend by his decree to cast a doubt on the doctrine of efficacious grace or on the teaching of St. Augustine, the Pope with an air of astonishment replied, 'Oh, that is certain' (O questo é certo).

From these few complaisant words of the Pope, afterwards arose all the perplexing doubts and hesitation of the Port-Royalists when called upon to sign the document accepting the Bull against the propositions. Those among them who thought that they might subscribe their names with a clear conscience, repeated to themselves the words of the Pope, 'O questo é certo,' as an assurance that the doctrines held by St. Augustine and Jansenius were not condemned by the Papal Bull.[1]

The Port-Royalists steadily maintained that the Pope's condemnation was not directed against doctrines held by Jansen, but against doctrines which neither Jansen nor St. Augustine had ever held in the sense indicated: and as to the last proposition, that 'Christ had not died for all men,' it was utterly false to assert that such a doctrine had ever been taught by the great Latin Father or by the author of the 'Augustinus.'

The pen of Arnauld during this time had not been laid aside. He had put forth pamphlet after pamphlet against Cornet and the Jesuits; but the Jesuits had pre-

[1] See 'Saint Beuve,' tom. iii.

vailed against truth and eloquence, and Cardinal Mazarin determined to make their triumph complete.

To the Cardinal personally the antagonism between Jesuits and Jansenists was a matter of indifference. He cared for none of their religious disputes; but to him, as minister, they were politically important.

There was one man who was a thorn in his side. This was Paul de Gondi (afterwards Cardinal de Retz), the nephew and coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris. Ardent, impetuous, pleasure-loving, and eager for adventure, he was in heart and mind the very opposite of an ecclesiastic, and it was against his own will that he had been forced into holy orders.

In childhood he had had Vincent de Paul as his instructor, but neither the teaching nor the example of the holy man had any good effect on the pupil.

As he grew up, his conduct gave grave cause for scandal, but his abilities were great, and his success at the Sorbonne was brilliant. He soon won for himself the coveted distinction of the doctor's cap in that centre of theological learning; but his own theology was that of 'the letter which killeth rather than of the spirit which giveth life.' His religion was indeed only 'a cloak to hide his immoralities, and a lever to raise insurrection in the state.'

The oratorical powers of de Retz were great, and he did not hesitate to make the pulpit a political tribune. By his inflammatory sermons and addresses he had stirred up the minds of men against Mazarin, already unpopular, and incited them to insurrection. He was the prime mover in the wars of the Fronde (1649), which sent Mazarin into exile.

The aim of De Retz was to supplant the Prime Minister,

and place himself at the head of affairs. He sought to be made a cardinal, and he hoped to be a second Richelieu. In 1651 he obtained the coveted honour from Innocent X.; but Mazarin was still powerful, though in exile. He secretly governed the Queen-Mother, Anne of Austria, and through her he ruled France. By his instructions, the arch-conspirator, a few months after he had been given the cardinal's hat, was arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes.

There was another source of discord between the two cardinals. Although both were alike personally indifferent to the religious side of the dispute, Mazarin had to some extent identified himself with the Jesuits, whilst de Retz, as coadjutor to his uncle and the rightful successor to the Archbishopric of Paris, had shown favour to the Jansenists. Solely from motives of self-interest he had encouraged them to look upon him as their friend: this alliance with Port-Royal giving colour to his assumed religious character.

From his prison at Vincennes de Retz sent a Latin appeal to the Sacred College for his release. This appeal was said to have been drawn up by a Port-Royalist, and certain it is that prayers were offered up in all the Jansenist churches in Paris for his liberation. All this helped to intensify Mazarin's dislike to the Jansenists, and although indifferent as to their orthodoxy, he had or pretended to have a doubt of their loyalty. The Fronde was now at an end. Mazarin's watchword had been "Moi et le Temps;" and in 1653 time brought him back to France as Prime Minister more powerful than ever. But he had difficulties to overcome. The Pope had been highly incensed by the arrest of the Cardinal de Retz, and had written a strong remonstrance to the French Court

on the subject. The imprisonment of a cardinal by a cardinal was a strong measure, and one which might well give umbrage to the Court of Rome, where Mazarin was no favourite.

It was necessary to conciliate the Holy Father; but it so happened about this time that the Pope also found it necessary to conciliate the French Prime Minister. The Bull condemning the five propositions had just been fulminated, and it rested with Mazarin whether it would be received favourably or not in France. The Pope, therefore, thought it prudent not to press for the liberation of de Retz, and allowed himself to be persuaded by the Jesuits and Cardinal Chigi that the imprisoned cardinal was a Jansenist. Mazarin, on his side, to gain the Pope's favour, obtained a letter from the young king, Louis XIV., requiring all French bishops to publish the Papal Bull in their several dioceses.

The royal injunction gave rise to grave discussion. Again the rights of the Gallican Church seemed to be invaded, and many of the bishops deemed it necessary to guard themselves by a protest against any violation of these rights. Fortunately for de Retz, he was only co-adjutor to his uncle at the time of the condemnation of the five propositions (August 1653), and a prisoner, which relieved him from the necessity of pronouncing publicly his opinion. For three years the discussion lasted. At length the bishops gave way, and accepted the Bull without protest.

It was a great defeat for the Port-Royalists, but now, having gained his point, Mazarin grew unwilling to institute more vigorous measures against them.

Innocent X., who had never forgiven Mazarin for his alliance with Cromwell, and his hostile policy towards

Spain, died at the commencement of 1655, and Mazarin, tired of theological disputes, now deputed M. Arnauld d'Andilly, the elder brother of Antoine Arnauld, and a man high in favour with the Queen-Mother, to negotiate a truce between the contending parties in the Church. Silence was imposed on both sides, and for a time even the voice of Arnauld was hushed.

But the Jesuits, aware of their power and implacable in their animosity, were not to be restrained. They scoffed and jeered openly at their opponents, and even went so far as to print an almanac with a frontispiece representing Jansen as a winged devil in episcopal robes, flying from the presence of the Pope and the French king into the arms of the Huguenots. Thousands of copies were sold and distributed. This audacious insult to the Bishop of Ypres was not to be tolerated by the impetuous Arnauld. He was all the more exasperated because about this time (1655) the Duc de Liancourt had been refused absolution by the priest of his parish, on the ground that he was on intimate terms with the Port-Royalists, and that he had placed his grand-daughter at the monastery to be educated.[1] The question was now not merely whether Jansen's book contained heretical propositions, but whether Port-Royal should not be excluded from the pale of the Church.

Arnauld rushed into the fight. Two letters appeared, the first a pamphlet, the second a quarto volume. The first was addressed by 'a doctor of the Sorbonne to a person of condition;' the second was 'to a Duke and

[1] Rochefoucauld wittily said of the Duc de Liancourt, that 'he spent all his money in three ways: first, on physicians, and he was always ill; secondly, on lawyers, and he lost all his actions; thirdly, in charitable works, and he was refused absolution by his own parish priest.'

Peer of France.'[1] The replies were numerous. All felt that a crisis was at hand, and that the fate of Arnauld hung in the balance. He appealed to the new Pope, Alexander VII.,[2] for justice and protection; but the Jesuits were too strong for him; they had secured a majority in the Sorbonne by the illegal introduction of forty monks into the assembly, and were resolved to expel him from their midst.

Two statements were extracted from his second letter as deserving censure: first, that he had asserted that 'Cornet's five propositions had not been taught by Jansen, but were the fabrication of his enemies;' and secondly, that 'according to both the Scriptures and the Fathers, St. Peter, a just man, was wanting in grace when he fell.'

This last was declared by the Jesuits closely to resemble the doctrine set forth in the first condemned proposition, and must be denounced by the Sorbonne.

On the 1st December 1655 the sittings of the Sorbonne commenced. Arnauld had emerged from his concealment and returned to Port-Royal-des-Champs, where he was busily engaged in preparing a refutation of the charges against him. He was at this time forty-three years old, and since the death of Saint-Cyran had been regarded as the head of a powerful party in the Church. His renown was great, and his adversaries began to dread the effect of his fiery eloquence. They therefore determined, if possible, to close the lists against him. They accordingly made two conditions before permitting him to conduct his own defence: first, he was to swear submission to the censure if pronounced; and secondly, he was strictly to confine himself to a simple statement of belief, without argument or rejoinder. Rather than submit to these

[1] To the Duc de Luynes.

[2] Cardinal Chigi.

conditions, he relinquished the advantage of defending himself by word of mouth, and contented himself with a written statement, in which he declared that the censured proposition was expressed almost in the words of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine: therefore, in condemning it, the Sorbonne would condemn two Fathers of the Church.

He was induced to make some humiliating concessions, but in vain. His condemnation was determined upon beforehand. Nothing short of degrading him by expulsion from the Sorbonne would satisfy his enemies. The 29th of January 1656 the assembly sat in judgment for the last time. Only a short half hour was nominally permitted to each speaker, but loud cries of 'Clôture! clôture!' resounded through the hall: the noise and confusion were so great that no one could be heard, and sixty doctors of the minority left the assembly, protesting against the restrictions made on liberty of speech. Arnauld was condemned and expelled. It was whilst the votes were being taken that he withdrew to one of the quiet galleries of Port-Royal-de-Paris, and there paced up and down praying for submission to God's will.

To be a doctor of the Sorbonne had been the ambition of his youth. He had attained that crowning honour, and now he was to suffer the indignity of censure and dismissal from the learned society of which, for fifteen years, he had been the most distinguished member.

Suddenly St. Augustine's words on the 118th Psalm recurred with vivid force to his mind. 'Since they have persecuted only Thy truth in me, help me, O Lord, that I may strive for Thy truth, even unto death.' Nor can he have failed at that moment to remember the words of his sister the Mère Angélique, 'If your name is struck

out from among the doctors of the Sorbonne, it will only be written more plainly in God's book.'

When the blow fell, and he was told that he had been expelled, he replied calmly, 'There is something left to me which persecution cannot reach—that is, the love of my God. They cannot tear this from my heart.'

All his writings in this controversy were declared heretical and afterwards placed on the Index.

To avoid imprisonment he had again to hide himself, and for twelve years (1656–1668) remained in concealment.

A strict search was instituted, and he had many narrow escapes. 'Would you like me to tell you where M. Arnauld is?' asked a lady when the gens-d'armes were searching for him in every corner of her house. 'He is safely hidden here,' pointing to her heart. 'Arrest him if you can.'

Though laden with anxiety and oppressed by a crowd of painful thoughts which would have overwhelmed most men, Arnauld no sooner found himself under a friendly roof than he sought to sanctify, and even enliven, his retreat by an act of kindness. He at once set himself to the task of teaching an ignorant boy of twelve years old to read on the new system of Pascal.

His place of concealment always remained undiscovered. This greatly excited the surprise of the king, who remarked that it was strange his emissaries could never succeed in arresting M. Arnauld. When Boileau was told this he observed, 'His Majesty is always fortunate. He will never find him.'

Even Louis XIV. was not without misgivings as to the five propositions being really in Jansen's book. He directed the Comte de Grammont, the husband of 'La

Belle Hamilton' (who had been brought up at Port-Royal), to read through the bulky volumes and ascertain the truth on this cardinal point.

When the Comte de Grammont professed to have concluded his labours, he informed his Majesty 'that if the five propositions were in the book, they were there *incognito*.'[1]

It was at this period that Pascal's 'Lettres Provinciales' appeared in Arnauld's defence, which made all Paris ring with their fame. The Jesuits succeeded in disposing of Arnauld and his alleged heretical writings, but the question still remained whether the five propositions were in Jansen's book or not. Chapter and verse had never been quoted; this convincing method the Jesuits rejected. The Jansenists admitted that the Pope was infallible in determining what is truth and what is heresy; but whether the heretical doctrines were or were not in the 'Augustinus' could be judged equally well by any one who had carefully read the book. Thus the distinction between the '*droit*' and the '*fait*' was a very simple one, the '*droit*' being the *right* of the Pope to condemn certain propositions as heretical, which all Catholics admitted, and the '*fait*' being the *fact* that the condemned propositions were in the 'Augustinus,' which all Port-Royalists denied.

But though in truth a simple question, the solution seemed as far off as ever. Popes died and were replaced by their successors, but the wearisome controversy still continued. Alexander VII. (Cardinal Chigi) had followed Innocent X. on the Papal throne, and the new Pope, on being appealed to, decided in favour of the Jesuits, that *the five propositions were to be found in the 'Augustinus.'*

There remained apparently no escape for the Jansenists.

[1] The word 'incognito' had been first brought into use about this time.

The French king and the Queen-Mother were convinced that the views of Jansenius were heretical, and determined that Port-Royal should be purged of its heresy. A new formulary was drawn up by command of the king, to which all ecclesiastics, school teachers, and nuns were required to affix their names. The formulary contained these words:—

'I condemn with heart and mouth the doctrines of the five propositions contained in the book of Cornelius Jansen, entitled 'Augustinus,' which two Popes and the Bishops have already condemned as contrary to the true sense of the doctrine of St. Augustine, which Jansen has falsely expounded.'

For a time there was delay in carrying out the king's decree; the Parliament of Paris objected to register it, and in the absence of the king at the seat of war, it was thought advisable not to press matters till his return.

It was this same year (1656) that the incident of 'The Holy Thorn' took place, which produced a reaction in favour of the Jansenists. The old friendship of the Queen-Mother for M. Arnauld d'Andilly revived and made her unwilling to proceed to extremities. But the following year the king on his return to Paris came in state to Parliament; the Bull of Alexander VII. was read and the formulary accepted; the triumph of the Jesuits seemed complete.

Mazarin, however, made difficulties; he refused to give *lettres de cachet* ordering every bishop to take steps for the immediate signature of the formulary. He told Père Annat (the Jesuit who afterwards became confessor to the king) that the Society gave him more trouble than all the rest of the kingdom; that the king had already done too much for them, and no more should now be

done. So the matter was allowed to rest, and for three years Port-Royal was left undisturbed, though the fatal formulary still hung over them.

After a while the recluses, who had been dismissed from Les Granges after Arnauld's expulsion from the Sorbonne, quietly returned there, and re-opened their schools, which they had been obliged to close.

These schools had originated with M. de Saint-Cyran, and for twenty years, with a few short intervals, had been in full activity. The number of the pupils had been limited; in no year exceeding fifty boys, and sometimes less; but illustrious names had made the schools renowned. Arnauld, Nicole, Fontaine, Lancelot, Le Maitre, had all been engaged in the work of tuition. Their educational books had been disseminated throughout France, introducing new and improved methods of instruction. Among other things, the little children of the Port-Royal schools had their first reading-lessons, not in Latin, as was customary in other schools, but in French, thus greatly diminishing the irksomeness of their lesson, by being spared the additional difficulty of learning through a dead language. Corporal punishments, which were the rule in other schools, were rare at Port-Royal. The great object set before the teachers, was that authority should ever be tempered with love, and that to make brilliant scholars was less important than to train up good Christians.[1]

The popularity and success of the system pursued at Port-Royal had only increased the jealousy of the Jesuits,

[1] The Port-Royal schools were divided into three sections, so that there were three different establishments; one at Les Granges, one at Les Troux, and a third at Le Chénaix. The first school formed by the recluses was in the Rue St. Dominique de l'Enfer, near the monastery of Port-Royal-de-Paris.

whose great object was to retain the education of the young altogether in their own hands.

Though a royal edict had been issued for closing the schools of Port-Royal, the order had not been effectually carried out, for they had been re-opened and were now in full vigour. The Jesuits therefore returned to the charge, and pressed the Cardinal to break up the schools and disperse the scholars. The blow seemed imminent, but again the good star of Port-Royal prevailed, and the danger for a time was averted. For just at this juncture (1658) an unhappy accident occurred to a nephew of Mazarin, the young Mancini, a pupil at the Jesuit College of Clermont.

Whilst playing at a rough game called 'Berne'—a game known to us as tossing in a blanket, and not permissible at any well-managed school—the boy was tossed violently out of the blanket, and died from the injuries inflicted. He was the object of all the Cardinal's hopes, the destined heir to his vast wealth. The boy's death was not only a keen sorrow and disappointment to Mazarin, but ascribing his irreparable loss to negligence, it excited his extreme anger against the heads of the College, so that his resentment was turned away from the schools of Port-Royal to those of the Jesuits themselves, who did not venture to press their assault on the schools of their rivals till time had in some degree assuaged both the grief and the anger of the Cardinal. Two years later (March 1660), when the Jesuits had the ear of Louis XIV., they again urged their petition through Père Annat. 'Surely,' they said, 'the Most Christian king will no longer permit young children to assemble for instruction under the influence of a man who has been convicted of heresy on the subject of efficacious grace?'

The king, thus urged by his confessor, and hating the very name of Port-Royal, at once issued a mandate for the suppression of their schools. The scholars of Port-Royal were dispersed never to reassemble.

On the death of Cardinal Mazarin (March 1661), Louis XIV. became, as he said, 'his own Prime Minister.' He was really the slave of the Jesuits. The Gallican Church was henceforth ruled by his Jesuit confessors—Père Annat, Père la Chaise, and Père le Tellier—who held sway successively over the king and Church. The natural consequence was the fixed resolve of Louis XIV. to rid his kingdom of the Jansenists. To him and his confessors they were 'a pestilent sect' which must be rooted out.

The sisterhoods of Port-Royal were also looked upon by the king with grave suspicion, and the first step towards their final suppression was quickly decided upon.

A ready means was at hand in the formulary of 1656: but before this authoritative document could be put in force, the king resolved that the boarders and postulants should be dismissed from Port-Royal, and that no fresh novices should be admitted. Then was enforced the dreaded formulary which required the signatures of the nuns of both monasteries. The nuns refused to sign. They well knew that their revered Abbess, the Mère Angélique Arnauld, would have indignantly refused to affix her name to a document which clearly condemned the teaching of Jansenius, the chosen friend of Saint-Cyran.

The great Abbess was gone, but the nuns were animated with her courage; they wished to do as she would have done, and they persisted in their resistance.

A device was resorted to by which it was thought that the scruples of the sisterhoods might be overcome. Without the previous knowledge of the king, the Grand

Vicars of the diocese[1] modified the document so adroitly by a 'mandate' which accompanied it, that both Arnauld and Nicole judged that the nuns might consistently sign. Finally, the nuns of both communities obeyed their directors and put their names to the modified document. But the attempt at evasion was utterly futile; the king insisted upon the signature of the formulary without modification. The nuns were required to assert with heart and mouth that the condemned propositions were in the 'Augustinus,' the Pope in his infallible judgment having declared such to be the fact. They were, moreover, to call upon God Himself to attest their sincerity.[2] Again a solemn protest was made by the Abbess (Agnes Arnauld) and the nuns of Port-Royal-de-Paris, and again the protest was rejected.

Nothing but a pure and simple subscription would satisfy the king and his spiritual advisers. The brave Abbess and her nuns absolutely refused compliance. 'No tyranny could induce them to attest what was false.' Some months passed of lingering suspense, and the appointment of a new Archbishop in the room of the Cardinal de Retz, who had now resigned the See (1662), made their case all the more perilous.[3] M. de Marca was

[1] Appointed by the imprisoned Cardinal-Archbishop (De Retz).

[2] See 'Ecclesiastical Biography' (Port-Royal), Sir James Stephen.

[3] In 1654 the Archbishop of Paris (Gondi) had died. The coadjutor, his nephew, Cardinal de Retz, though still a prisoner, retained his right of succession to the Archbishopric. The supposed countenance of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris was a great support to the Jansenists; but to the Court and Mazarin it was a sore displeasure that De Retz, the life and soul of the late revolt against the royal authority, should occupy so high and powerful a position. The Queen and Mazarin tried in vain to bring about his resignation of the See in exchange for another. But the Pope's sanction was not obtained to this arrangement, and De Retz was destined to remain for some time longer an imprisoned Archbishop. From Vincennes he was transferred to Nantes, from whence he was able to make his escape to Spain, and thence to Rome. Well received by the Pope, the restless, intriguing prelate went afterwards to Brussels, until at length, in

nominated to the Archbishopric of Paris; he was the author of the formulary and a determined enemy of the Jansenists; but three days after he had received his credentials from Rome (June 1662) the new Archbishop died.

The king appointed his old preceptor, M. de Péréfixe, who was a mere tool of the Court, to the vacant See, with the understanding that, by fair means or force, the sisterhoods should be made to sign. But again a complication arose. In August 1662 a quarrel between the followers of the French ambassador to the Papal Court and the Roman Guard was followed by a personal insult to the ambassador, the Marquis de Créqui. The king demanded redress, which the Pope was reluctant to give; and the result was that M. de Péréfixe did not receive the fresh Bulls from Rome recognising him as Archbishop for eighteen months after his nomination by the king. A respite was thus afforded to the nuns. But though free for a while from persecution from without, Port-Royal received at this time a blow which struck at the very heart of the community. This was the death of M. Singlin after only a few days' illness. He had been for twenty-eight years director of Port-Royal-de-Paris, and had been trained and appointed to the post by M. de Saint-Cyran. He had been the companion of Le Maitre, De Séricourt, and De Saci when the little band of hermits was first formed; the depth and vitality of his faith had carried conviction to the heart of Pascal; and when the spirit of the Mère Angélique shrank at the approach of death, he had sustained her by his words.

1662, laying aside the Archbishopric, which he had only ruled through his Vicars-General, he was allowed to return to France, and lived in retirement till his death in 1679.

To avoid imprisonment he had for the last three years of his life adopted the garb of a physician when he went forth on his priestly ministrations, and he consoled himself for having recourse to this artifice by the thought that he was in truth a physician in the highest sense of the term. He died 17th April 1664, and was buried at Port-Royal-de-Paris, loved and lamented by all the community.

The respite from persecution was of short duration. The nuns, still mourning for their loss, were again assailed. M. de Péréfixe, the new Archbishop, having now received Papal authority, at once proceeded to enforce the signature of the formulary, to which he affixed a new declaration, viz., the infallibility of the Pope as to matters of '*fact*' as well as of '*right*;' but he failed to shake the determination of the Abbess. At length, enraged at his want of success, M. Péréfixe lost all self-command. One by one the nuns were required to appear before him, and as each refused to sign, threats and insults were heaped upon the recusant. 'Pure as angels and proud as Lucifer,' he thundered forth as he hurried away from the monastery. The nuns were deprived of participation in the sacraments and threatened with exile or imprisonment.

Finally the decree went forth. The Mère Agnes (Arnauld) and twelve of her nuns, including three of her nieces, were dismissed from Port-Royal.

They were given but short notice, and were not told what was to be their destination. Mère Agnes was seventy-three. She had been sixty years a member of the community, which, as Abbess, she had ruled and reformed, and which she was now forced to leave with every mark of indignity. She received the order for her dismissal with meek submission. She called together

her weeping Sisters, asked forgiveness of all her faults and shortcomings towards them, and begged them, whatever rumours they might hear, to believe in her constancy to the end in refusing to become a false witness. The 26th August 1664 was the day fixed for the expulsion of the nuns.

Archbishop Péréfixe came himself with great pomp and an armed force to carry out the sentence against them. At heart he felt some tenderness towards the nuns, believing in their goodness and devotion; but he had been incensed by their resistance to the royal will, and had already proclaimed them to be 'pure as angels and proud as devils,' his respect mingling with his resentment. But on this fatal morning the Archbishop lost all self-control, and losing sight of their 'angelic purity,' and seeing only their 'devilish pride,' he treated the unhappy women with a roughness which amounted to brutality.

He tore the twelve victims from the embraces of their Sisters, and threatened to remove them by force, though no resistance was thought of. Against his violent and insulting proceedings Mère Agnes merely offered a quiet and respectful protest, and bidding the nuns she was about to leave a sad farewell, she quitted the home and sanctuary of her long life, followed by her twelve companions. At the door of the monastery one more trial awaited her. She there found her brother, M. Arnauld d'Andilly. He had had notice of the expulsion, and had in vain implored the Archbishop, as a last favour, that he might be permitted to convey his sister and his children to his own home at Pomponne. But M. Péréfixe was immovable. 'They must suffer for their contumacy' was his only answer to M. d'Andilly, who now came to witness the departure and give his daughters his blessing. They

received it kneeling, and then these hardly-used women, conscientious if obstinate, entered the carriages provided for them. They were conveyed to different convents. Mère Agnes being infirm, one of her nieces was permitted to be with her to assist her, but on reaching the Convent of the Visitation in the Faubourg St. Jacques, she met with harsh treatment and found herself regarded as a heretic. The others, domiciled in separate houses, were exposed to every petty persecution which intolerance could devise. Amongst these Angélique de Saint-Jean was the most noteworthy. She was the daughter of M. Arnauld d'Andilly, and the cleverest of his family. She was now sent to the Convent of the Annunciation in Paris, and kept in the strictest seclusion. It was indeed a close imprisonment. She could hear the noise and stir of the great city from her cell, but no tidings from without were allowed to reach her. With no outward help or consolation, and deprived of participation in the Blessed Sacrament, there were times when her heart sank within her, and the question would arise, 'Is there a Providence?' But the grace of God triumphed. She became resigned and peaceful, and after a while her prison was to her a little sanctuary, where each day she recited the offices of the Church, and followed in spirit the priest at the altar.

In the darkness of the night she would often rise and sing a psalm of praise, unheard by all but by Him whose ear is ever open to the cry of the sorrowful.

Her solitude was only broken by an occasional visit from the Prioress or from the Maréchale de Rantzau, a clever woman residing in the convent, whose influence it was hoped would induce Angélique de Saint-Jean to yield obedience to the Archbishop. With this object

the Maréchale always endeavoured to lead her into a religious discussion; but the readiness of Angélique never failed her. One day her visitor declaimed on the terrors of anathema, saying, 'What a horrible thing to be excommunicated by the Pope!'

'And yet,' replied Angélique, 'there is one consolation; for it does happen sometimes that the successors of St. Peter imitate St. Peter's haste in drawing the sword, and, like him, strike too quickly without waiting for his Lord's permission. But then Jesus comes and heals the wounded ear.'

Angélique dreaded letting her thoughts dwell on her own trials; the utmost she could do was to bear them by seeing God's hand in all that happened. In her own words, 'she carried her soul in her arms as a woman carries a weaned child, which she moves about and tries to divert so as to prevent its crying for its nurse.' Port-Royal had been her nurse, and now that she was being weaned from all she loved, she could not have endured the separation had not her faith enabled her to turn her thoughts from earthly things to God Himself.

Strong faith was indeed needed as time wore on, for still greater trials were in store for the persecuted nuns of Port-Royal; but at least they were to have an interval of quiet and the solace of being brought together again.

Louis XIV. began to complain of the expense incurred in keeping the recusant nuns in separate convents; the sum of 500 francs a head was an annual drain upon the privy purse which cooled his religious ardour. It was resolved, therefore, the following year (1665), to send them back to Port-Royal-des-Champs. The story of their re-union is curious, as related by Angélique de Saint-Jean herself.

On the 3rd July 1665, as early as five in the morning, a carriage sent by the Archbishop came to the door of Les Filles St. Marie. It was to convey Mère Agnes, her three nieces, and the Sister Christine away from the convent. An almoner of the Archbishop accompanied them on horseback. Inside the carriage all was wonder and speculation. The poor women knew not where they were going; they had recourse to prayer for strength to bear whatever was before them. Their journey was delayed through a horse casting a shoe, and it was so long before a blacksmith could be found, that another batch of travellers, sent later in the day from Paris, caught them up. Great was the surprise and joy to the detained nuns as carriage after carriage—five in all—came in view, filled with their Sisters from Paris in their white habits and red crosses.

They passed rapidly, but the nuns were able to recognise with delight some of their friends as the procession moved on. Their destination was Port-Royal-des-Champs. On arrival at their well-known home, the nuns all repaired to the old church. They had never thought to meet under that sacred roof again. It seemed to them a resurrection rather than a re-union, and never was a more heartfelt 'Sursum Corda' raised than was there lifted up by the joyful and thankful nuns thus restored to each other and to their church.

They were still close prisoners, but they had the comfort of being together, and undaunted by all they had suffered, they pledged themselves anew to be faithful to the truth, and again to refuse their signatures when the Archbishop came.

Fresh punishment was the result. The unhappy nuns were now interdicted from chanting the offices; the sick

were unvisited by the new confessor, and the dying departed without religious consolation. The persecution was even extended beyond the grave. No mass was permitted for the soul of the departed, and when a Sister died, the nuns could only gather around the grave and pray in silence for the dead.

To prevent any communication with Arnauld or any other of their friends, the nuns were absolutely isolated.

In their simple faith they solemnly laid a paper on the body of her who had passed from the sorrows of this world to the presence of the Lord, binding her by every tie of affection to remember those whom she had left to struggle on through trial and temptation, and to plead their cause on high.

A strict watch was held over the convent, where an officer and some men of the Gardes-du-Corps were stationed to intercept all communication from without. At first the soldiers even took possession of the garden, where was the well, still existing, from which the nuns drew water, thus disregarding all the rules of conventual privacy. The unhealthiness of the place and the close confinement told but too quickly on the unhappy inmates of the monastery. One after another they sickened, so that it was found necessary to have a resident doctor. Providentially at this moment M. Hamon presented himself. He was a physician by profession, and obtained permission from the Archbishop to attend the nuns in illness. He had lived for four years at Les Granges with the recluses, but had not been included in the sentence passed against them, and now, in the deprivations and spiritual destitution of the nuns, he acted the part of physician both to soul and body. When the Sisters lamented that they were deprived of the sacrament

of confession, he would say, 'Confess to Jesus Christ. His power to absolve is far beyond that of any priest.' When they grieved over their deprivation of the Holy Eucharist, he said, 'Who can separate us from the Invisible Altar?' The viaticum was denied to the dying; but the good physician would whisper in the ear of the departing Sister, 'Have a little patience; the curtain is about to be undrawn, and you will see the Lord Himself.'

Another name comes before us in the Annals of Port-Royal as a minister of consolation to the poor nuns. This is M. de Saint-Marthe.[1] He also had joined the band of recluses at Les Granges, and had been appointed by M. Singlin one of the preachers and confessors at Port-Royal-des-Champs. When forced with the other recluses to retire from Les Granges, he wrote a noble defence of the Sisters who had been confided to his care.

A curious instance of his benevolent thought for the nuns is mentioned as having occurred when the vigilance of their guards became somewhat relaxed and their movements were less closely watched.

By climbing a tall tree which grew on the other side of the boundary-wall and overlooked the garden of the convent, he was able on several occasions after dark to speak words of comfort and hope to the assembled nuns and to give them his priestly benediction.

Among the bishops of the Gallican Church, four only had maintained their steadfastness in the cause of Port Royal, and insisted on the clear distinction between the

[1] It was from M. de Saint-Marthe that Pascal in his last illness sought spiritual help. He was the confessor to whom he revealed the secrets of his conscience.

'*droit*' and the '*fait*.' These courageous prelates were Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth, Henri Arnauld,[1] Bishop of Angers, Buzenval, Bishop of Beauvais, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers.

Like the seven Bishops of England twenty-five years later, they placed themselves in direct opposition to a despotic and unscrupulous king. They rejected the dogma of Papal infallibility on matters of fact as a new pretension set up by Archbishop Péréfixe, and strong in the justice of their cause, they firmly withstood the pressure of the Court and the censure of their brother Bishops, who had the weakness to give in to that which in their hearts they disapproved.

Conspicuous among the four was the Bishop of Aleth, a prelate reverenced by all men for his holy life and self-devotion. He addressed a firm but respectful letter to the king on the illegality of the enforced signature, and represented to his Majesty that he had overstepped the bounds of his legitimate authority in requiring the signature to be affixed in the presence of secular judges and magistrates. 'Christian princes,' he said, 'had never assumed to themselves the power to make laws and canons for the Church, but had felt it an honour to be the executors of the Church's decrees.' The Bishop himself boldly refused to sign the formulary, and interdicted the clergy of his diocese from doing so. He even went so far as to excommunicate two of his canons for disregarding his prohibition.[2]

[1] Brother of Antoine and of Angélique and Agnes Arnauld.

[2] The name of Marie-Martinozzi comes before us in connection with that of the Bishop of Aleth. She was a niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and at seventeen married the Prince de Conti, brother of the Duchesse de Longueville and the great Condé. Beyond being a prince of the blood, Conti had but little to attract a young girl; but she played her part in life well;

In the eyes of the Court this was the climax of rebellion. Enraged at the contumacy of the four Bishops, Louis XIV. himself denounced them to the Pope, and the Bull of Alexander VII. in 1665 was the result.

The Bull was a severe blow to the Port-Royalists, for it admitted of no distinction between the '*fait*' and the '*droit*.'

The excommunication of the four Bishops now appeared inevitable, but a means was devised by the ingenuity of Nicole which it was hoped would bridge over the difficulty. It was proposed that the Bishops should bow to Papal authority and sign the formulary, but they were to add a salve to their conscience, clearly defining the *sense* in which they signed, viz., for the *droit*, their signature was a submission to his infallibility; for the *fait*, it was merely a submission of respect and discipline. This definition was received with acclamation by many of the Bishops, and published by them in their several dioceses; but by order of the king in council the definition was immediately annulled.[1] Louis XIV., determined to carry his point, now solicited two new briefs from Rome, one of these ordering the four Bishops to sign unconditionally, and the other brief, to be used in case of necessity, appointing a commission of French Bishops with power to suspend or excommunicate the four refractory prelates. This was a manifest infringement of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and both the king and his ministers became aware that a grave mistake had been made in appealing for Papal intervention where the French Bishops

and in after years her name ranks among the great ladies who favoured the cause of the Jansenists. Whilst residing in Languedoc she and her husband placed themselves under the direction of the Bishop of Aleth, and thenceforth followed the strict discipline enjoined at Port-Royal.

[1] See 'Port-Royal' (Beard), vol. i. p. 432.

claimed independence. Every day the situation became more embarrassed and the contest hotter.

To the Port-Royalists it was a time of bitter suffering. The nuns, as we have seen, were treated with redoubled severity. MM. de Saci and Fontaine were imprisoned in the Bastille; Antoine Arnauld and Nicole and other leaders of the party were hidden in various places of concealment, whence they carried on a warfare of letters and pamphlets.[1]

But a crisis was at hand. The French king had appealed to Rome, and a commission of nine prelates had just been named to pass judgment on the four recusant Bishops, when the Pope (Alexander VII.) suddenly died (May 1667). He was succeeded by Clement IX. (Rospigliosi).

Clement was of a different spirit to his predecessor. He lamented the strife and disunion existing in the Catholic Church; he knew the sanctity of the men who were the leaders of the Jansenist party; therefore, when an opening for a compromise appeared, he gave a not unwilling ear to it.

Nineteen French bishops, with Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, at their head, enrolled themselves in the cause of peace, and sent an address to Clement in defence of their four brethren, 'declaring their orthodoxy to be above suspicion.'

The chief mover in the whole negotiation was Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville. She was the daughter of the Prince de Condé and of that Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency whose wondrous beauty turned the head of Henri IV.

[1] In Madame de Sévigné's letters she speaks of Arnauld as hidden 'sous terre comme une taupe.'

Her history from her birth was one of strange romance. She first saw the light in the prison of Vincennes, where her father was a captive, and his wife a voluntary sharer in his captivity.[1] His release took place in 1619, when his daughter was still in her infancy. From Vincennes she was removed to the Hotel de Condé. Great pains were bestowed upon her education, and her religious training was not neglected.

Her mother was a frequent visitor at the Carmelite convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques, a convent not long founded, but which vied with Port-Royal in the strict discipline it enforced. The Princesse de Condé had been a great benefactress to the Carmelites, and she had rooms reserved for her use in the convent whenever she chose to make a prolonged stay within its precincts. Her little daughter often accompanied her mother, and was at times left there, in charge of the nuns.

As Anne-Geneviève grew up, her thoughts turned towards a cloister life, and at fifteen her desire was to renounce the world and become a nun. In this she was naturally encouraged by the sisterhood; but the close friendship which existed between the Prioress of the Carmelites and the Princesse de Condé did not go so far as to induce the latter to allow her only daughter to take the veil as a Carmelite nun. Accordingly, when Mademoiselle de Bourbon was sixteen, she was suddenly called away from her peaceful seclusion to be introduced into the world at a Court ball given by Louis XIII. at the Louvre.

She entered the palace with a reluctant heart, wearing

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[1] The Prince de Condé was imprisoned in 1616 by order of the Queen, Marie de Medici, for his opposition to the tyranny exercised by the Maréchal d'Ancre.

beneath her ball-dress the horse-hair belt of the Carmelites; but, in spite of the protecting '*cilice*,' the world with its fascinations at once cast its spell over her. The intense admiration which her beauty excited produced a thrill of pleasure and excitement hitherto unknown. When Anne-Geneviève left the ball-room she was no longer the same being; the intoxicating draught had been held to her lips, and she thirsted for more. All thought of a conventual life was thrown aside until long years had passed, and, in disappointment and remorse, her mind once more turned to the peaceful shelter of the cloister she had abandoned.

For the next few years the life of Mademoiselle de Bourbon was one continuous round of pleasure and amusement. She was the idol of society. Madame de Motteville writes that 'to see her was to love her,' and 'her angel face' is repeatedly mentioned in her letters.

In 1642 a marriage was arranged for her with the Duc de Longueville; a man of distinguished rank, much older than herself, holding a high place at Court, who did not attempt to disguise his indifference towards her and his love for another. Thus from the very commencement of her married life her position was one of great peril. She possessed not only the extreme beauty of her mother, but also great intellectual power, and a fascination of manner which made her in her new home at the Hôtel de Longueville the centre of a crowd of admirers; but her heart remained untouched, save by her devotion to her brother, the young Duc d'Enghien (afterwards the great Condé).

The deep affection which subsisted between them had a strong hold upon both through life, and was not without considerable influence at critical periods of their career.

But we approach the sad crisis of her fate. The dormant power of loving was at length awakened within her.

François, Prince de Marsillac (afterwards Duc de la Rochefoucauld[1]), was the most heartless and selfish of men. Without a particle of love for her, he deliberately set himself to gain her love, that through her influence he might obtain his own selfish ends.

Clever, handsome, plausible, he knew that to win her heart there must be something to excite her admiration; he therefore played the part of the most chivalrous and disinterested of men. He flattered, amused, animated, and governed her.[2] She became completely under his sway.

In 1649 the dissensions of the Fronde broke out. Hostility to Mazarin was the ostensible cause. The nobles were jealous of his power and discontented, and the people had their own grievances. Among the discontented was La Rochefoucauld. His vanity and ambition had been wounded. The Queen had slighted him; Mazarin had refused him the title he coveted, and the *tabouret* at Court had been denied to his wife. To avenge himself for these trivial affronts, La Rochefoucauld joined the Fronde, and led Madame de Longueville into rebellion.

Infatuated by this false-hearted man, she sacrificed for him her position, her reputation, even her loyalty, and she became the leading spirit of the insurrection. The life of the Duchesse de Longueville was henceforth one of wild adventure and peril, which she faced with a courage worthy of the sister of the great Condé.

Having been the idol of the Court, she was now the idol of the mob, the heroine of the Fronde. Her younger

[1] Author of the 'Maxims.'

[2] 'Etudes sur les Femmes Illustres du 17ième Siècle' (Victor-Cousin).

brother, the Prince de Conti, had cast in his lot with the insurgents, and through her influence her eldest brother, the hero of Rocroy, was also withdrawn from his allegiance and induced to join the rebellion. She exercised a vast power in public affairs during this period of intense political strife and agitation. At one time flushed by success, she even held in check the power of the king; at another, she was a fugitive escaping from the royal forces and perilling her life in the attempt. Cruel sorrow and disappointment followed. The man for whom she had sacrificed all had the baseness to make his own peace with the Court; he obtained what he desired, and he deserted and then maligned the woman he had led astray.

Wounded to the quick, Madame de Longueville longed to retire from the world in which she had played so great a part and suffered so cruel a wrong, hoping to quiet her troubled conscience by a life of penance and devotion.

She recalled with vain regret her peaceful happy life at the Carmelite convent. Six-and-twenty years had passed since then, but the gentle voice of the Prioress still sounded in her ear, and she remembered sadly her own haughty reply to her kind words of warning, 'My virtue is safe; it is self-sustained.'[1] Her virtue had not then been tried. She little knew her frailty.

The faithful friend of Madame de Longueville in these days of sorrow and penitence was Mademoiselle de Vertus. She has been described by Racine as 'the visible angel of whom God made use to aid this princess to find the narrow way of salvation.' It was she who urged Madame de Longueville, penitent but lacking peace, to consult M. Singlin, the director at Port-Royal-de-Paris. She had

[1] See 'Mémoires Historiques,' tom. ii. p. 172.

no leaning towards the Jansenists, but she needed spiritual advice, and she consented to see him.

Like other Port-Royalists, M. Singlin was then in hiding, and was introduced in disguise to her hôtel. To him she made a full confession of her past life. Unlike other spiritual directors, he did not urge upon her the necessity of strict austerity; he imposed no extraordinary acts of penance. It was not in the seclusion of a convent, he said, that she was to give proof of her repentance, but in the strict and hearty fulfilment of the plain duties of her station—the duties of a wife and mother, hitherto neglected. He did not attempt to palliate her conduct in the wars of the Fronde. He showed her the misery which civil war had brought on the French peasantry, and said that it was especially incumbent upon her to relieve to the utmost of her ability their miserable condition. She obeyed in all points. Through the medium of Mademoiselle de Vertus a reconciliation took place with her husband. The Duc de Longueville received her back without reproach; by her kindness and attention she soothed the remainder of his life, and by freely giving of her wealth she endeavoured to repair to the uttermost the distress which she had brought upon her people.

On the death of M. Singlin, M. de Saci became her spiritual director, and all the influence and energy which Madame de Longueville had once devoted to the Fronde was given to the support and protection of Port-Royal.

She had at length found peace herself, and the one great object of her life from henceforth was to restore peace to the Gallican Church. For five years her hôtel in Paris was a secret refuge for the leaders of the Jansenist party. The police were prohibited from searching the hôtel of a princess of the royal house, and Arnauld

and Nicole were often secreted within its walls. To Pope Clement IX. she addressed a letter full of the most persuasive eloquence in behalf of the persecuted Port-Royalists. The Papal Nuncio was won over by her appeals, and all who were willing to aid in the arduous task of reconciliation were invited to the conferences held at the Hôtel de Longueville. For eighteen months she laboured incessantly with Arnauld and Nicole and the four brave Gallican Bishops to arrive at some point of agreement. All the inimitable skill and address, all the powers of fascination of which she was the mistress, were brought into requisition to overcome the difficulties which arose. The pride of Louis, the secrecy to be maintained owing to the ill-will of the king's Jesuit confessor, the combativeness of Arnauld, presented obstacles which only her marvellous tact and patience could have surmounted.

At length an agreement was drawn up. By this no formal retractation was exacted from the four prelates, but simply a promise of respect and obedience to the Pope, and a pledge that they would desist from further contest. They might make the distinction between the '*droit*' and the '*fait*' by word of mouth on signing the formulary, and record it in the archives of their respective dioceses; thus their fidelity to the rights of the Gallican Church would be attested, whilst the dignity of the Holy See would be maintained.

With these concessions the Sovereign Pontiff professed himself satisfied, and in 1668–69 peace was restored to the Church.

The Jesuits, or 'Molinists,'[1] as they were called, who

[1] From Luis Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, died 1600. His work on 'Agreement of Grace and Free-Will' occasioned fierce disputes between the Jesuits and other Orders.

had not been consulted, bitterly resented the proceedings, and declared to the Papal Nuncio that 'in the weakness of one quarter of an hour he had ruined the work of twenty years.' The angry murmurs of Père Annat were unheeded by the king, who was now more occupied with his pleasures than with controversies. 'If the Pope is satisfied, every one else ought to be,' was his cold reply to the remonstrances of his confessor. As a consequence of the peace of the Church, MM. de Saci and Fontaine were liberated from the Bastille. Arnauld was presented by M. Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, to the Nuncio, who received him with marked distinction, saying 'that the golden pen of M. Arnauld could not be better employed than in defence of the Church.' The Bishop of Meaux (M. de Ligny) conducted him a few days afterwards to the Archbishop of Paris, and M. de Péréfixe did not hesitate to bestow on him his benediction. The news of Arnauld's introduction to the Papal Nuncio having reached the ear of the king, who was at Chambord, he expressed a desire also to see the man of whom he had heard so much; and on his return to Paris, Arnauld was accordingly admitted to his presence. He met with a gracious reception, and the whole Court sought to do honour to the distinguished man who had been 'invisible so many years.' Monsieur, the king's brother, even advanced towards him, contrary to the stiff rules of etiquette, saying, 'One may well take some steps to meet so rare a man.'

The nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs were expressly included in the terms of pacification (October 1668), and after the interview with Arnauld the king had a conversation with the Papal Nuncio, and told Archbishop Péréfixe that it would not do for him to make greater difficulties than the Pope, and he must therefore arrange matters at

once with the community at Port-Royal. This was enough for M. Péréfixe, who was a mere tool in the hands of the king, and he immediately modified his terms in order to satisfy the scruples of the nuns. But it required all the arguments and persuasions of Arnauld and Nicole to induce these steadfast women to sign a declaration similar to that already made by the four Bishops. It has been truly said that 'these poor nuns, whose theology was of the heart, were more clear-sighted on this occasion than all the doctors of theology.' They still doubted and protested. It was not till February 1669 that the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs finally signed the document in the presence of the Bishop of Meaux.

The effect was immediate and startling. On the 18th of the month the interdict was removed; the doors of the church were thrown open; lights gleamed again from the altar. The bells, long hushed, rang out a welcome call, and the peasants, hearing the glad sound, crowded into the re-opened church, where the nuns were singing joyfully 'Te Deum Laudamus.' Ten days later, on the first Sunday in March, a solemn mass was celebrated; the nuns filled the stalls; Arnauld was at the altar, and was about to recite the prayer of consecration, when a little procession entered the church chanting the solemn words 'Omnes qui de uno pane et de uno calice participamus.'

It was the good priest of Magny (a neighbouring village) who headed the procession. Throughout the persecution he had offered up daily prayers in his church for the imprisoned Sisters, and he had now brought his flock to rejoice with those who were rejoicing, and to unite with them in praise and thanksgiving.

Once more the monastery was permitted to receive

boarders, and the number of novices increased daily. The recluses came back to Les Granges, and new penitents were added to their number. Port-Royal-de-Paris had been severed from Port-Royal-des-Champs by a royal decree shortly after Mère Agnes and her nuns were thrust forth and imprisoned, and the two Abbeys remained henceforth distinct and separate.

The Duchesse de Longueville, whose influence had become great with Louis XIV., obtained permission to build a house close to the monastery of Port-Royal-des-Champs, where she often resided, and her presence afforded additional protection to the community.

Here she was joined by her friend Mademoiselle de Vertus, who lived in an adjoining house. It was she who had to break to Madame de Longueville the sad death of her son in 1672, mortally wounded at the passage of the Rhine.[1] All the poor mother's affections were centred in him, and after his death she retired altogether from the world, and lived either at Port-Royal-

[1] The death of this son was the keenest sorrow of her sorrowful life. Her eldest son, deformed and weak in intellect, had withdrawn from the world and entered the Church, and all Madame de Longueville's hopes and affections were now centred in her second son, the young Duc de Longueville. He had been wild and dissipated and spoilt by the world; but he was brave, and handsome, and accomplished, and, in spite of all the anxiety he had caused her, he was the pride of her life. In 1672 he had been chosen King of Poland, and was fighting on the Rhine under his uncle, the Prince de Condé, at the time of his election.

The Polish envoys arrived at the head-quarters of the French army with the formal tender of the crown. Admitted to the Prince's tent, they found the wounded Condé weeping beside the dead body of their king. He had met a soldier's death at the glorious but fatal passage of the Rhine.

The unhappy Duchesse, alarmed at the unexpected visit of Mademoiselle de Vertus, who had been summoned from Port-Royal to break the news, asked at once for intelligence from the war. 'How is my brother?' she said. 'Madame, there has been a battle; the Prince de Condé has been wounded.' 'And my son?' There was no answer. 'Has he died on the field of battle?' 'Madame, I have no words to answer you!' ('Lettres de Madame de Sévigné,' 106.)

des-Champs or at the Carmelite convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques, where she died in 1679.

The peace of the Church for which she had laboured lasted till her death. During these ten years the Port-Royalists were unmolested, but harmony was not altogether unbroken, the dispute of the *régale* having commenced in 1673.[1] This was the right claimed by the king to receive the revenues of all vacant bishoprics in his kingdom, and appoint whom he pleased to the dependent preferments in these bishopries. Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers, both of the Jansenist party, opposed the *régale*. The two Bishops appealed to the new Pope, Innocent XI. (Odescalchi), who took up warmly the cause of the prelates, admonishing the king to refrain from touching the property of the Church. The contest lasted throughout the reign of Innocent XI.[2]

Mère Agnes (Arnauld) did not long survive the proclamation of peace. On its second anniversary she lay on her death-bed, and received the last sacraments whilst a solemn commemorative thanksgiving was being held in the church. She died at the age of seventy-seven.

Of the numerous children born to the Procureur Général, there were now but three left—Arnauld d'Andilly,[3] Henri Arnauld (Bishop of Angers), and Antoine, the subject of this sketch, who continued during the life of Madame de Longueville to be the centre of the circle which met at her hôtel in Paris. Arnauld and Nicole pursued with vigour their polemical writings, but it was

[1] The right known as the *régale* did not extend to all the provinces of France. Languedoc, Guienne, Provence, and Dauphiné were excluded. The bishopries of Aleth and Pamiers were both in Languedoc, and the two Bishops resolved to defend their rights.

[2] Innocent XI. began his reign 1676, died 1689.

[3] Arnauld d'Andilly died in 1674.

against Calvinism that their attacks were now chiefly directed. The death of Madame de Longueville (1679) was the signal for the renewed persecution of the Port-Royalists.

Notwithstanding the gracious reception accorded to Arnauld by the king, the old prejudice against Port-Royal and all connected with it remained unabated. At this time he suspected Arnauld of having used his pen in the service of the two Bishops when they appealed to Rome on the subject of the *régale*.[1] It was an unfounded suspicion, but it rankled in the mind of Louis; and M. de Pomponne and his sister, Angélique de Saint-Jean, vainly urged their uncle publicly to clear himself from this imputation.

The Jesuits, who had been shut out from all part in the negotiations for peace, only waited their opportunity for annulling the hated compact made through the influence of Madame de Longueville. The king disapproved of the great number of visits paid to Arnauld at his hôtel in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques. These were represented as dangerous, and three weeks after the death of their protectress, Arnauld was informed by M. de Pomponne that no more gatherings would be permitted at his hôtel, which was regarded by the king as a harbour for all malcontents.

Advised to quit Paris, Arnauld withdrew at first to a friend's house at Fontenay-aux-Roses. Whilst there he was secretly warned that there were plots against his liberty, and he determined to leave France (1681). For a moment he thought of going to Rome, where, under Innocent XI., he was sure of a safe and honourable retreat, and where it was even said a cardinal's hat

[1] Nicole, not Arnauld, had been employed in drawing up this appeal.

awaited him. But the conflict between France and Rome on the subject of the *régale*, deterred him from this course, and he decided to retire to Mons in the Spanish Netherlands. The only person to whom he confided his intention was his niece, Angélique de Saint-Jean, who was now Abbess of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

Arnauld was in his sixty-eighth year when he withdrew from France. Nicole, always timorous, had already taken flight, and made his way to Brussels, where he was afterwards joined by Arnauld. But Nicole soon deserted his old friend, and entered into correspondence with the Archbishop of Paris, promising him complete subservience if only he might be permitted to return to France.

Arnauld in his letters never upbraids Nicole for his desertion, but when Nicole tried to dissuade him from a life of voluntary exile, as too great a sacrifice for one of his years, Arnauld replied, 'You say that it is a hard thing for a man of my age to be reduced to the life of a fugitive. On the contrary, the near approach of liberty makes the old man strong.' Arnauld kept to his purpose, and remained till his death—fifteen years afterwards—an exile from his friends and his country.

M. de Péréfixe had died in January 1671, when M. de Harlay became Archbishop of Paris. Unlike his predecessor, he was a man of talent, dignified in appearance and courtly in manner, but utterly devoid of all principle; his sole object was to ingratiate himself with the king. It was not until 1679, after the death of Madame de Longueville, that Port-Royal was again assailed. On 17th May of that year Archbishop Harlay paid his first visit to the monastery.

High mass had commenced when he arrived. M.

de Saci received him, and the wily Archbishop took this opportunity to break to him the object of his coming, and begged him to prepare the Abbess for the reception of the king's commands, being persuaded, he said, that 'disagreeable things were softened if learnt from the lips of a friend.'[1]

The bland manner of the Archbishop, and the profuse compliments with which he larded his speech, overwhelmed M. de Saci, whose simple truthfulness of character made him shrink from all flattery.

His urbanity and courtly politeness were thrown away upon the Abbess. Angélique de Saint-Jean felt instinctively that his visit boded no good to her community. She saw through his artifices. She distrusted his expressions of sympathy; and it was scarcely a surprise to her when, after lavish praise of all he saw, he proceeded to inform her in honeyed accents that it was the king's pleasure, alas! to reduce the number of the nuns to fifty, and to interdict the admission of any fresh novices; the boarders also must be withdrawn forthwith. Angélique remonstrated in vain. She pointed out the extreme inconsistency of administering praise and penalty at the same time, but all she could get in reply was, 'Alas! such was his Majesty's good pleasure.' When further pressed by the Abbess as to the cause of the penalties inflicted on the Port-Royalists, M. de Harlay at last admitted the truth. 'Do you not see it all clearly?' he exclaimed. 'All the world speaks of Port-Royal, of "ces Messieurs de Port-Royal." The king does not like so much noise to be made. He has told M. Arnauld that he disapproved of the meetings

[1] Racine was at Port-Royal-des-Champs when M. de Harlay arrrived; he had come to visit his aunt, who was one of the nuns, and the Archbishop perceiving him, entered into conversation with the poet, as his brother Academician, whilst M. de Saci went to inform the Mère Angélique.

at his house; he might see as many indifferent persons as he pleased, but why is there always a certain set to be found there, and what is the close bond which exists between them? If M. Arnauld writes any work, why must he always consult with these gentlemen? The king will not allow any cabals; a body without a head is always dangerous in a state. The king will put an end to all this, and will not suffer the names of "ces Messieurs de Port-Royal" to be always brought forward.'

And then, with more courtly complimentary phrases and profound expressions of respect, the Archbishop took his leave. He was accompanied to his carriage by M. de Saci, and as he placed his foot on the step, he suddenly turned round and announced to his conductor with a pleasant voice, but in plain terms, that he and all the other priests connected with Port-Royal were to retire within a fortnight by the king's order. The crime of Port-Royal in the eyes of His Most Christian Majesty was its too great importance. For this it was doomed to decay and extinction; but not till another quarter of a century did the end come.

As to Arnauld, he was driven from one place of refuge to another by the unrelenting hostility of the Jesuits. He refused to go to Rome, where he would have had the protection of Innocent XI. He preferred to suffer the penalty of banishment rather than appear disloyal to his sovereign. From Mons he wrote to the Chancellor Le Tellier giving the reasons for his flight. 'As he had not the means,' he said, 'of pleading his cause before the king, he felt that in quitting France he had done all in his power to remove the grounds of offence and put an end to the calumnies against him.

'The trials which awaited him were no doubt great.

The loss of the society of friends was hard to bear; *but God takes the place of all, to those who sacrifice all for Him.* . . . The ills of this world alarm when viewed from a distance, but one accommodates oneself to them when they arrive; God's grace making all supportable. . . . He was ready to follow whithersoever it pleased God to lead him, and though he walked through the valley of the shadow of death, he would not fear whilst God held him by the hand, and in this hope he rested.'

These were not mere words with Arnauld; they were the rule of his life.

After six months' sojourn at Mons, Arnauld was forced to seek shelter elsewhere. He retired successively to Tournay, Courtrai, and Ghent.

At whatever house he rested he led a monastic life; prayer and study divided his time. He visited likewise the quaint old town of Delft, and here we find him in fellowship with Bishop Neercassel and the Flemish followers of Jansenius.[1]

The first work of Arnauld during his exile was in defence of M. de Saci's translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate into French. The right of the laity to read the Scriptures in the vernacular had always been maintained by the Jansenists. Arnauld, Nicole, and Pascal had assisted M. de Saci in this translation, 'that the poor and ignorant might draw nourishment and instruction for themselves in its pages.'

After many wanderings in Holland and elsewhere, Arnauld finally made Brussels his place of refuge.

Even in exile he was still a living power in the Church, bravely defending to the end the faith he had held in his youth. On all the great questions of the day Arnauld wrote

[1] See Dr. Neale's 'Jansenist Church in Holland.'

freely, and with his accustomed vigour and intrepidity, reckless of consequences to himself.

His natural independence of character led him to follow out his own opinions, and often these were not in unison with the opinions of his friends.

There seems, in truth, a want of consistency, and even of right feeling, in the conduct of Arnauld on some points. On the question of the *régale* he sided with Rome, and against Rome on the rights of the Gallican Church. He was living in Holland under the protection of a Protestant state, and yet he wrote vehement attacks on the religion of the people whose hospitality he was enjoying. He was himself an exile, and felt keenly the pang of separation from his country and his friends, and yet he defended the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), a measure which consigned many thousands of his fellow-countrymen to banishment and to penury. One can but imagine that the constant irritation caused by the sneers of the Jesuits, who spoke of the confessors of Port-Royal as 'des Calvinistes qui disent la messe,' had produced in Arnauld a bitter feeling towards the Protestant party, and a desire to place a wild gulph between that party and himself. It has been well said that in his controversy with the Protestants 'he was more Catholic and Royalist than Christian.[1]

His recklessness as to consequences amounted to audacity. He defended the cause of James II., dethroned by William of Orange, and wrote in the most violent and opprobrious terms about the Prince, although Holland had so often afforded him refuge, and at any moment he might again be forced to fly there for safety.

Arnauld was a most voluminous writer; his writings

[1] Sainte-Beuve.

fill more than forty-two volumes, and by the side of polemical works which once created an uproar in the theological world, are elementary grammars and other educational books for the use of children in the Port-Royal schools.

Arnauld was not wholly without companions in his exile. When the Archbishop of Paris undertook to purge the Congregation of the Oratory from Jansenism, two of the Fathers, Quesnel and Du Guet, joined him at Brussels. In 1682 the seizure of his writings sorely distressed Arnauld, accompanied as it was by the arrest of those to whom they had been consigned for transmission. Some of these persons were imprisoned in the Bastille; others sent to the galleys. Among the number was M. du Breuil, who had been one of the most distinguished men in the Congregation of the Oratory, and who, but for the intrigues of the Archbishop, would have been general of the Oratorians. He was in his seventieth year when he was imprisoned, and died in captivity at the age of eighty-four. M. de St. Marthe, Tillemont, and others of the Jansenist leaders occasionally visited Arnauld both at Delft and Brussels.

He had returned to this latter place in 1682, feeling that he was no longer safe in Delft. But his enemies were always on the alert, and M. de Harlay had offered a reward for his apprehension, so that he had again to take refuge for a time in Holland, accompanied by Quesnel. On his return to Brussels for the last time in 1690, he lived hidden in an obscure lodging; the room which he occupied was small, and reached by a steep narrow staircase. Here 'the illustrious old man' spent the last years of his life. When as a fugitive, 'persecuted but not forsaken,' he first entered this dreary lodging, he

found in it one single ornament, a print of the flight into Egypt of the Infant Saviour. It was a consolation to him, and the thought of *this fellowship in exile* strengthened him. Every night after prayers he sprinkled holy water on those two or three friends who had secretly met together, and then gave the benediction.[1]

He never moved out, except for a turn in his little walled garden, over which an awning was spread to hide the old man from the gaze of curious neighbours. So his few remaining years were spent, as he had passed the greater part of his life, 'without sunshine.' But the sort of half-mystery in which his days were enveloped was not without its secret charm for him. Had not the first confessors of the faith been wanderers like himself, hiding in dens and caves of the earth? Every day he rose at five, and said mass in his little chapel. Gradually his sight became dim, and fearing he should not long be able to read the daily psalms, he learnt the psalter by heart as a precaution.

To the end he was every hour in jeopardy — ever in danger of arrest; but 'the complete liberty,' the near approach of which, he said, 'made the old man strong,' came at last, and he died after a few days' illness in 1694, at the age of eighty-two. A few days before his death, he spoke with tender regret of being an exile from his country, and said sorrowfully to those around him, 'I must die in this land.' Quesnel was with him, and relates that before daybreak on the 8th of August a sigh told that the old man slept in the Lord. 'Homeless, poor, proscribed, persecuted,' his death nevertheless resounded throughout Catholic Europe. 'He was the champion of the faith, the Christian hero of the age,

[1] 'Les Premiers Jansenistes' (Monseigneur Ricard).

and men felt that they had lost in Arnauld a defender and a teacher revered and beloved as few men are.'

'*Pour moi, mon bien est de rester attaché à Dieu.*' This was written on the first page of his breviary. It was the keynote of his life.

Thus in perfect peace, after fifty years of continual strife and persecution, Antoine Arnauld passed away, and the man who might, had he so willed, have been buried as a cardinal, with all the pomp of a princely funeral, was secretly interred before the altar steps of the Church of St. Catherine at Brussels, and for years the burial-place of Antoine Arnauld was concealed for fear of desecration by the hand of his enemies. The building is now disused and dishonoured. A new church has been built near at hand. The old one in which the great Arnauld was laid to rest is filled with stage lumber, and it was among the side scenes of a theatre that the writer made her way to a spot whence the slab bearing his name could be seen.

LOUIS-ISAAC LE MAÎTRE DE SACI.

B. 1613. D. 1684.

'The soul that is really humble shrinks within itself when it hears its own praise, remembering the words of the Apostle, "Let him that glorifieth glory only in the Lord." It says at once, "Not unto us, but unto Thy name be the glory, O Lord."'

'All is barren in us without Him who was raised on the tree of the cross. It is through Him alone that we bear fruit.'

'As nourishment without exercise is prejudicial to the health of the body, so spiritual food without good works is perilous to the soul's health.'

'Spiritual sobriety is not of less importance than that which is corporeal.'

'One is apt to think that things are true when they are eloquently expressed.'

'It is always well to be very reserved in our judgments both of the living and the dead; for if we shall have to render an account of our idle words, we shall assuredly have a still stricter account to render of our idle judgments.'

'The sacred writers have this peculiarity, that they pro-

portion and accommodate themselves to the wants of every one. A lamb may ford them without fear to quench his thirst, and an elephant may swim there, and find no bottom to their depth.'

'The greatest action, and the most acceptable to God, is to entertain low thoughts of ourselves.'—ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

'Give to every soul its proportionate food.'—ST. ANSELM.

De Saci was the son of Isaac Le Maître and Catherine Arnauld, the eldest sister of the great Arnauld and the Mère Angélique. The mind of the young Louis-Isaac unfolded at an early age; even in childhood his piety was remarkable. He was educated at the College of Beauvais with Arnauld (his 'petit oncle'), who was about the same age as his nephew. He was placed when very young under the direction of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran to be educated for the priesthood, and when the Abbé was imprisoned at Vincennes, de Saci pursued his studies under the eye of M. de Saint-Cyran's nephew, M. de Barcos, and M. Guillebert, a devoted disciple of the Abbé.

The name of *Saci*, by which he is known, was adopted to distinguish him from his eldest brother, Le Maître, *Saci* being simply a transposition of the letters of his name *Isac*. He was living with the recluses at Les Granges when their first dispersion took place, after which he returned for a time to Paris. In 1643, when Arnauld was forced to conceal himself owing to the outcry made by the Jesuits against his book, 'La Fréquente Communion,' his nephew de Saci became his companion and assistant in his literary labours. He had thus become well acquainted with the opinions of M. de Saint-Cyran,

and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Port-Royal. The prudence and moderation of de Saci were in striking contrast to his uncle's impetuosity and combativeness, as was shown in his perusal of Arnauld's controversial works. For instance, on one occasion in writing against some abuse, Arnauld had stigmatised it as '*inhumain*.' 'Why not say *déplorable*?' suggested de Saci. 'But is it not *un horrible abus*?' persisted Arnauld. 'Still why not rather put *déplorable*, and deal gently with the erring, seeing we ourselves are compassed with infirmity?' He was thought cold and shallow by some who knew him but little, and could not fathom the depth of his nature.

He believed with a faith which was immutable that there was but one thing needful—the hidden life of the soul with Christ; to be filled with the thought of God, this was his ruling idea, the one aim of his being, and this was the secret of his calm, grave, patient bearing at all times.

His humility was so great that he hesitated taking upon himself the dignity of the priesthood till he was thirty-five years old, when, by the advice of M. Singlin, he was consecrated to this holy office, and became confessor at Port-Royal-des-Champs.

The religious society established there (at Les Granges) had now become, in the words of Professor Ranke, 'a sort of literary academy,' as well as a retreat for the exercise of a devout life. Here were collected young ecclesiastics and men of great learning, members of various religious orders and men of noble family, merchants and physicians; all these were gathered here, under the influence of some divine impulse, which prompted them to renounce the world and lead a higher life. Bound together

by no vows, they met for religious exercises, they attended regularly all the services of the Church, they prayed one with another and in private. The education of children and the pursuit of letters, joined to some kind of manual labour, this was the daily life of the hermits of Port-Royal.

They produced polemical and religious works, such as 'Les Heures de Port-Royal,' a work which, after the lapse of a century, was as much in request as on the first day of its appearance. They gave to the world a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular. This was the society to which De Saci was now appointed confessor. His post was not without its difficulties, and one of those who shrank from placing himself under his guidance was his elder brother, M. Le Maître. M. de Saci was much his junior, and of a totally opposite character. The contrast between the two in temperament was most striking. Unlike his brother, Antoine Le Maître was passionate and impulsive; but Christian obedience triumphed, and ere long the two were closely bound together in mutual trust and appreciation. In his priestly office, M. de Saci ministered in 1650 to his brother M. de Séricourt on his death-bed, and soon after was called to perform the same office for his mother. Madame Le Maître had become a nun at Port-Royal-des-Champs, so that her own son was now her confessor. In the hour of death her one desire was to have him with her. 'It was I,' she said, 'who brought him into this world of trial, and I would be helped by him to leave it and to enter into heaven.' Almost with her last breath she thanked God for having given her such a son. Seven years later he stood by the death-bed of his brother Le Maître, and administered to him also the last sacraments.

The study of the Scriptures was made of the first importance by M. de Saci in his direction of souls, to be followed by meditation and earnest prayer.

In the midst of the controversies which were perpetually springing up around him, he laboured for peace. One instance of the contrary alone exists. This was on the occasion of the publication of a scurrilous almanac against Jansen.[1] Even de Saci's indignation was roused, and he replied with a warmth hardly worthy of one usually so meek and patient.

In the war of the Fronde, M. de Saci disapproved of the warlike preparations made by the recluses for the defence of the monastery, and at last, in obedience to him, when muskets were fired, they were *without ball*, so as merely to intimidate any advancing foe. This was the extent of self-defence which he deemed lawful for those who should live not only to the glory of God, but in peace and goodwill towards men.

He had a wonderful power of adapting himself to the peculiar turn of mind of those who sought his counsel. He always directed the conversation to the subjects most likely to interest them. With M. de Champagne, the great painter of the day, he would discourse on art; to M. Hamon, the physician of Port-Royal, he would speak on the gift of healing; to Pascal on the study of philosophy. All things were to him as a channel through which he drew men insensibly onwards towards God.

In 1661 M. de Saci with the other Port-Royalists proscribed by the Court was forced to fly and hide himself. He took refuge in Paris, going from one hiding-place to another; he knew that he was surrounded by spies, that at any moment he might be discovered and arrested; yet

[1] See Sketch of Arnauld, p. 112.

he never hesitated to obey the call where his ministrations were required.

After the death of M. Singlin in 1664, the whole weight of direction fell upon him; but it was not till two years later (1666), when on his way to Madame de Longueville, that his arrest took place. He was sent with M. Fontaine to the Bastille.

His great consolation and chief interest during his imprisonment was the translation of the Old Testament into French, which was completed the very day before his release from the Bastille in 1668. The publication of this great work with copious notes was henceforth the absorbing occupation of his life, and is justly considered the special and perpetual monument of de Saci's patience and erudition. The translation of the New Testament was well-nigh completed before his imprisonment, and the preface was in his pocket when arrested.

It had been begun by his brother, M. le Maître, who at his death bequeathed to M. de Saci the completion of his task. It is known as the Testament of Mons, having been published there by the permission of the king of Spain in 1667.

When M. de Saci undertook the rendering of the Scriptures into the vernacular, there were several old and imperfect French translations still extant, some of which dated as far back as the end of the thirteenth century. But all were considered as more or less untrustworthy. Some had been censured by the Church as heterodox; among these were the Vaudois and the different Huguenot versions, whilst the Roman Catholic versions were so antiquated in phraseology that they were difficult to understand. These last translations had not been formally interdicted by the Church, but they were in little

use, and the Port-Royalists, aware of their existence, asserted that it was the duty and the right of all Christians to have access to the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. A polemical battle was the result, and they had to fight every inch of the way before permission was granted for the publication of de Saci's Bible. The Jesuits denounced it from their pulpits, and even the translation of the Breviary and the Missal was opposed.

The right of the people to *comprehend* what was written therein was not admitted by the adversaries of Port-Royal.[1] The discretion and prudence of M. de Saci, however, overcame the perils which menaced him, and his beautiful translation was at length brought out, in spite of much jealous and inimical criticism. During the brief peace of the Church, Arnauld, having obtained the consent of M. de Péréfixe, presented this Bible to Bossuet, the great defender of the faith of the Gallican Church,[2] who was known to approve of the Scriptures being translated into the vernacular. With the consent of the Archbishop, Bossuet met Arnauld, Nicole, and de Saci in biblical conference at the Hôtel de Longueville. The 'Mons' New Testament was there revised under the auspices of Bossuet, who belonged to no especial party, and although differing from the Port-Royalists on the dogmatic side, entirely agreed with them on the side of Christian morality, which they had raised from the degradation into which it had fallen through the lax teaching of the Casuists of that day. He was therefore at this time not unwilling to befriend them, and to acknowledge that they had instituted a reform needed in the Church. Bossuet

[1] M. de Saci likewise translated the 'Imitation.'

[2] Bossuet was made Bishop of Condom in 1669, and Bishop of Meaux in 1681.

admitted that he approved for the most part of de Saci's translation; the notes he considered valuable and 'containing much pious nourishment;' he dwelt on the over-refinement of the language,—'Trop recherché,' was his verdict.

M. de Saci gratefully received any light which Bossuet threw upon the text, but the death of M. de Péréfixe, who had authorised the revision, and the appointment of M. de Harlay to the archiepiscopate, put an end to these conferences. M. de Saci [was therefore left to his own resources. In 1672 the first portions of the whole Bible appeared, and it] has become the base of many French translations, explanations, and paraphrases up to the present time.

With the exception of Bossuet and Pascal, there was no one so fitted as de Saci for the task. He did not, however, know Hebrew, so that the Old Testament was translated solely from the Vulgate, and in the words of M. de Sainte-Beuve, 'How many souls have been brought to God and nourished by this version of de Saci's, none can tell!'

In 1679 de Saci was ordered to quit Port-Royal-des-Champs by the Archbishop, M. de Harlay. He retired to Pomponne for the rest of his life. The nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs, deprived of his ministrations, hailed with joy his French Bible, as it appeared volume by volume, with the explanatory notes of their director, thus giving them the instruction which [he was debarred from delivering by word of mouth.

Angélique de Saint-Jean was then Abbess. In the cloudy and dark days of Port-Royal she had ever been calm, and in the midst of tumult and passion she would say, 'There is a divine order in all that seems to us

confusion and disorder, but one must wait till the whole work is finished to see it in its full proportion and beauty.' This life in all its length was to her but the vigil of a great festival, and she always spoke of the next world as though already on its threshold.

She was now fifty-nine years old, and on the eve of a great sorrow, the deepest she had ever known. This was the loss of her cousin M. de Saci, who had been the beloved friend of her youth and age. In the autumn of 1683 he was removed from Pomponne to Paris for better advice, and seemed to recover under the treatment of his doctors. He returned to Pomponne and was received as 'one given back to them from the dead;' but the rejoicings quickly came to an end. On the 3rd January 1684, after saying mass in the private chapel, de Saci sat with two or three friends discoursing on the life of Ste. Geneviève, this being the day dedicated to her remembrance, when suddenly he uttered a cry, and praying them not to alarm his cousin Luzanci, had to be carried from the room to his bed, and on the following day breathed his last in his seventy-first year. To one who had been with him in his previous illness he had said, 'When I am ill I do not ask God for patience to carry me through the whole day, but in the morning I am content to ask it for the forenoon, at noon for the afternoon, and at evening for the night.' He died as he had lived, 'in patience possessing his soul.'

In his will he desired to be buried at Port-Royal-des-Champs. No opposition was made to this, and his body was removed from Pomponne. The funeral cortège having to pass through Paris, the coffin remained for the night in the Church of Saint-Jacques du Haut Pas, where the body of M. de Saint-Cyran was buried. It had been

proposed to have a procession by torchlight to meet the funeral and follow it to the church. The Duchesse de Longueville and all the Jansenist ladies were to form part of the procession, but prudence forbade this demonstration, and in the early winter's morning, with the snow deep on the ground, the coffin was carried without pomp to Port-Royal-des-Champs, where it was met by the Abbess and all her nuns. Angélique's anguish of heart was extreme, but she bore up bravely, and, with her usual calm, saying that 'tears and lamentations were unworthy of him who was gone, and of the God in whom they put their trust.' But the restraint was too much, and the grief which lay pent up in her heart brought death.

She had prayed to be taken from this life, and after three weeks she was borne to her grave, to be followed in a few more days by her brother, M. de Luzanci.[1] He had been for forty years the constant companion of De Saci, and could not outlive 'the friend of a lifetime.'

They had together walked with God here, and in death they were not divided. The two friends were laid side by side at Port-Royal-des-Champs.

Surely of these Port-Royalists, as of the early Christians, it may be said, 'See how these Christians love one another?'

[1] The third son of M. Arnauld d'Andilly.

PIERRE NICOLE.

B. 1625. D. 1695.

'There are some who are sore everywhere.'

'The mind is formed more by intercourse with others than by anything else. What one reads one forgets: it is only when one has *said* a thing that one really knows it.'

'Is not the charity of this world so covered with ashes that if it still lives within, it gives out no sort of heat?'

'Visits, for the most part, are nothing more than devices for casting upon others the burden of oneself, which one cannot endure.'

'That is a bad discourse of which we retain nothing.'

'The love of God is the principle of true conversion.'

'Prayer consists not in words, but in the desire; and indeed, according to St. Augustine, prayer is nothing else than an holy desire. He who desires ever prays, and he who never desires never prays.'

'Men resemble birds, which are in the air, but which cannot balance themselves without movement, and scarcely then in the same spot, because they have no solid support, and have not sufficient force and vigour in themselves

to resist the force which draws them downwards. . . . It must be by continually bestirring ourselves, and by frequently renewed efforts and beatings of the air that we can find for ourselves the support we need.'

'We sometimes fail to profit by a truth because it is badly expressed.'

'There are people who only graze the surface and go no deeper than flies in their walk. Others, on the contrary, leave traces where they have been, and store what they have touched.'

'The ground that produces the most wine does not always produce the best; so there are far-reaching minds which take in all within range of their object, but want the penetration to discern what is within the object itself.'

'In default of great thoughts the human mind may waste itself in the most trivial matters. We may drown in a shallow rivulet, if we lack the strength to raise ourselves.'

'He who is over-timid of criticism is like a man who fears to travel in the summer because of the flies.'—ST. FRANÇOIS DE SALES.

Pierre Nicole, who is entitled the Christian moralist and controversialist of Port-Royal, was born at Chartres. He was the son of Jean Nicole, a clever parliamentary lawyer, a man of great learning, and a classical scholar, who rose to be a judge. His son Pierre was by nature studious; he was also gifted with an excellent memory and great perseverance, and being a voracious reader, he had at the age of fourteen read all the Greek and Latin

authors in his father's library. He made such rapid progress in his studies, that in 1642, when seventeen years old, he was sent by his father to learn philosophy and theology at the University of Paris, where, after three years, he took his degree of Master of Arts. During this period he became known to the recluses of Port-Royal, through his aunt, Marie Suireau, who was one of Angélique Arnauld's first novices, and who became her successor as Abbess of Port-Royal-des-Champs. The recluses were at once attracted by the gentleness of Nicole's disposition and his great intelligence. In 1644 an arrangement was made that he should give a portion of his time to teaching in the Port-Royal school in the Rue St. Dominique. This was of incalculable advantage to Nicole, who in teaching others taught himself, and acquired, among other benefits, an extraordinary facility in Latin composition. In 1649 he became Bachelor of Theology, but the contentions which arose soon after in the Church on the subject of the five propositions slackened his desire for Church preferment, and, more prudent than ambitious, he determined to give up all thought of the priesthood, all visions of doctorial dignity, and content himself with the simple tonsure.

He was thus left free to devote himself and his talent to the service of his friends at Port Royal, and retired to Les Granges to share with Lancelot in the direction of the Port-Royal schools.

In 1654 a close companionship with Arnauld commenced a companionship of twenty-five years. Nicole became his literary assistant in the defence of Jansenism. During the trial of Arnauld, he aided him by furnishing extracts from the mass of theological works which Arnauld had to consult for his vindication before the Sorbonne. He

also took an unacknowledged part in all the controversial works of the Port-Royalists, and his researches assisted Pascal in his 'Lettres Provinciales.' He translated these celebrated letters into Latin, under the assumed name of *Wendrock*, and thus made them widely known in Holland and Germany.

It was Nicole's misfortune that he had never been acquainted with M. de Saint-Cyran. He was but eighteen years old when the great founder of French Jansenism died, and he had therefore no personal experience of his character, nor of the spirit and power of his teaching. Nothing could be more opposed to the time-serving policy of Nicole than the bold, uncompromising teaching of Saint-Cyran, who was as fearless as Nicole was timid.

It was the latter, we are told, from whom emanated the subtle distinction between the '*droit*' and the '*fait*,' in the first of the Provincial Letters—an unworthy evasion, which Saint-Cyran would never have countenanced, which tended to lower the prestige of Port-Royal, and was renounced in his latter days by Pascal himself and many of the older Port-Royalists, who regarded Nicole as the evil genius of Arnauld.

After Arnauld's condemnation, Nicole was his faithful companion in concealment for nearly twelve years, and when the 'Peace of the Church' was proclaimed in 1668, to no one was it more profoundly welcome than to the weary Nicole, essentially a man of peace, and a Jansenist controversialist somewhat against his will. During these years of concealment Nicole brought out a short sketch of the great work which afterwards appeared, entitled, 'La Perpétuité de la Foi Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie' (1664). The Jesuits had always stigmatised the Jansenists as Calvinists in disguise, and one cannot but observe

how the Jansenists, on their part, lost no opportunity of declaiming against Calvinism, as if to raise up a rampart in their own defence from the charges brought against them. MM. de Saint-Cyran, Le Maitre, Arnauld, had each of them written vehemently against the errors of the Calvinists, and Nicole now followed in the same track.

Nicole's sketch had fallen into the hands of Claude, the great Huguenot preacher of the day,[1] who answered it, showing that 'in uncorrupt antiquity' the Church had not held the doctrine as now professed by the Church of Rome. The larger work of Nicole was not completed till some years later (1669), when it was published with a dedication to Pope Clement IX. from the pen of Arnauld, and with the approbation of twenty-seven archbishops and bishops, and twenty doctors of the Sorbonne, among whom was Bossuet. It appeared as 'a solemn inauguration of peace' between the two contending parties —Jansenists and Jesuits—the Calvinists alone being attacked.

In this work Nicole starts from the eleventh century; the preceding ages of the Church's history being passed over, and Claude brought this against Nicole as an evasion, quoting texts from Scripture and passages from the Fathers proving that Transubstantiation, as now taught by the Romish Church, had not been from the first a dogma of the Church, and defining the views held by the Huguenots regarding the Eucharist.

Nicole's work, 'La Perpétuité de la Foi touchant

[1] Jean Claude was the head of the Reformed Church at Charenton. He rendered great service to the Protestant cause until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent him into exile—the first Protestant who suffered under the new decree. The Edict of Nantes giving full liberty to the Protestant faith had been proclaimed by Henri IV. in 1598, and was revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685.

l'Eucharistie,' was based upon the famous canon of the Catholic faith, '*Believe what has been believed always, everywhere, and by all.*'[1] ('Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus, creditum est.') Claude, however, proved that the doctrine of Transubstantiation only became a dogma in the eleventh century.[2]

'Show me,' said a contemporary of Nicole, 'that Transubstantiation was the belief of the first four centuries, and I yield.' But this Nicole could not do, and he contented himself with asserting that the condemnation of Berengarius was a sufficient proof that the Church had never varied in her belief in so important a doctrine.[3]

It was whilst engaged in this war against the Calvinists that Nicole wrote and published another work, looked upon by Voltaire as a master-piece. This was entitled 'Moral Essays.' The chapter on preserving peace in society was especially praised. Madame de Sévigné speaks in rapture of this work, once so famous; but perhaps, as it comprises fourteen volumes, it was always more praised than read.

In 1667 Nicole unfortunately renewed the conflict with the Jesuits and imperilled the peace of the Church by secretly composing, at the suggestion of Madame de Longueville a Latin letter for transmission to the new

[1] St. Vincent Lerins.

[2] See 'Mediæval Church History' (Trench).

[3] In the eleventh century Berengarius of Tours, Archdeacon of Angers, made a protest against 'the carnal error' of Transubstantiation, which was said to be gaining ground in the Church. It was a revival of the old controversy in the ninth century, when the doctrine of the real presence was first propounded by Paschasius Radbert, Abbot of Corby, and denounced by Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, as 'novel and erroneous.' Berengarius was opposed by Lanfranc, Prior of Bec (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), and condemned by Leo IX. in a council at Rome. Later on he was again condemned by Hildebrand (1078). Through fear of death he recanted, but he had no sooner crossed the Alps than he abjured his recantation and re-affirmed all that he had recanted.

Pope, Innocent XI.,[1] from two Jansenist Bishops. This letter contained certain charges against the Casuists well calculated to stir up the old strife. One of the conditions of the peace compact had been that all recrimination should cease, and on the publication of this letter (in which was at once detected the hand of Nicole, and possibly that of Arnauld), they were informed that the King was highly incensed at their conduct.

Fearing the consequences, Nicole judged it prudent to quit Paris. He took up his abode at Beauvais, where he had a benefactor in the Bishop, M. de Buzenval, who had some time before presented him to a small benefice in his diocese.[2]

Two years later, in 1679, Nicole lost his chief friend and protectress, the Duchesse de Longueville, whose house had always afforded him shelter in troublous times. At her death the peace of the Church came to an end. Louis XIV. immediately gave proof of his hostility to Port-Royal, and Nicole fled from France to avoid the threatened storm. He took refuge in Brussels, where he was joined soon after by Arnauld. But when his old friend determined to proceed to Holland and visit the Jansenist Church established there, he hesitated, and finally refused to accompany Arnauld.

The fact was that the idea of a life of exile was unbearable to Nicole. He had had twelve years' experience of its trials and discomforts. His health was indifferent, and the climate of Holland disagreed with him and increased his tendency to asthma. In spite of all he owed to Arnauld, Nicole therefore, to the scandal of his friends, decided to leave him, and to take a course apart from

[1] Odescalchi.

[2] What was called a *bénéfice à simple tonsure* (Sainte-Beuve).

him by negotiating a separate peace for himself with the ecclesiastical authorities. This idea had often presented itself to his mind; for, notwithstanding all his controversial writings, which are innumerable, Nicole in secret was always meditating a retreat. He accordingly wrote to Archbishop Harlay explaining his conduct with regard to the letter written for the two Bishops, and praying to be allowed to return to Paris, where he would spend the rest of his days in study and prayer, forsaking controversy and devoting himself to the welfare of his soul.

His intimacy with Arnauld had undoubtedly drawn him unwillingly into the midst of the Jansenist controversy, and in one of his letters to a friend he compares himself to a man in a little boat listlessly skirting the seashore, when a tempest arose carrying the boat far out to sea, and he found himself encompassed by a thousand unlooked-for perils.

Four years elapsed before Nicole's petition to M. de Harlay was granted, years of hardship and anxiety to one of his timorous nature. He was in constant terror of being arrested, and therefore perpetually changing his hiding-place.

In one of the houses in which he lived he had a large trap-door made, by which, with a slight movement of his foot, his writing-table with all his papers disappeared from view in case of an inopportune visitor.[1]

His physical cowardice had grown to such a pitch that he would never go on the river unless protected by a life-belt, so afraid was he of the boat capsizing. In a high wind he would not venture out of the house lest the tiles on the roof should fall on his head.

[1] 'Les Derniers Jansenistes' (Léon Séché).

The reproaches of his friends for his desertion of Arnauld weighed heavily on his mind. Arnauld alone, with his usual generosity, defended him from the attacks made upon him by his party, and asserted that Nicole had a perfect right to independence of action.

In 1683 Nicole was permitted to return to Paris. He had obtained the rest he coveted; he had purchased it by confessions to which the more tender conscience of Arnauld could not consent. But his compliance procured him, instead of exile, twelve years of comfortable security. He lived in a quiet lodging adjoining the convent of La Crèche, with access to the convent chapel. Free from anxiety, surrounded by literary friends, favoured by the highest dignitaries of the Church, he was able to follow the bent of his own inclination, and indulge his taste for study and literary work without fear or hindrance. In the sultry summer months his custom was to retire from Paris to the cool shade of a small hermitage he had purchased at Corbeil, where he enjoyed the society of his friends, among whom were Racine and Boileau.

To one of Nicole's temperament, the sense of absolute security must have been especially grateful. But surely the thought of the generous faithful friend who had first brought him into notice, and whom in old age he had forsaken, must have cast a shadow over his enjoyment, and he may well have felt something akin to remorse as he compared his own prosperous lot with that of Arnauld, in poverty and exile,[1] hunted from place to place, and only Quesnel with him as the end drew nigh, to catch his dying words and receive his last sigh.

Nicole outlived Arnauld fifteen months, but whilst the death of Arnauld was commemorated in prose and verse, that

[1] See Boileau's Epitaph.

of Nicole was comparatively unnoticed, although Madame de Sévigné wrote of him as 'le dernier des Romains!'

The portraits of both were engraved and exhibited side by side, but the number sold of Nicole was but half the number sold of Arnauld—'justly marking the proportions of the two men and of the two reputations.'[1]

Nicole was powerful with his pen, but did not shine in conversation from his shyness and timidity. In the famous disputation between Rancé, Abbot of La Trappe, and the Benedictine, Mabillon, on the subject of monastic studies, Rancé strenuously opposed the pursuit of knowledge as baneful and distracting to the monks, whilst Mabillon wisely upheld it as both right and beneficial. Nicole warmly defended the views of Mabillon and the Benedictines.

During the last years of Nicole's life he was engaged in writing against 'Quietism.'

Fénelon's name had not yet appeared in the dispute, only that of Père la Combe, and that of the more famous Madame Guyon.

It was at the instigation of Bossuet, who thought highly of Nicole's controversial talent, that he wrote in refutation of Madame Guyon's 'mystical doctrines,' and it was whilst occupied in controverting her opinions that he was seized with paralysis, and died in 1695 at the age of seventy.

[1] Sainte-Beuve.

BLAISE PASCAL.

B. 1623. D. 1662.

Doctor August Neander observes that for a 'right comprehension of the "Pensées" of Pascal, we must not forget that they are but fragments of a great work which he proposed to write, often paradoxical, jotted down by him at intervals as the thoughts came to him, and which must be compared one with another to be understood in their true sense.'

'The central thought with Pascal is contained in these words of Holy Scripture, "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness."' — '*Pascal*,' *Edinburgh Review*, January 1847.

The following extracts are translated from M. Faugère's edition of the 'Pensées, Fragments et Lettres de Blaise Pascal:'—[1]

Pensées Diverses.

'When some strong inclination prompts us to do a thing, we forget present duty. We wish to read some book; we read it when we ought to be doing something else. To recall us to our duty, let us propose to ourselves to do something which we cordially dislike, then we excuse ourselves on the ground that there is something else which we ought to do, and by this means we are reminded of our duty.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 177.

[1] M. Prosper Faugère was the first editor of a *complete* and *authentic* text of the 'Pensées.'

'The strength of a man's virtue must not be measured by his occasional efforts, but by his ordinary life.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 191.

'I hold it as a fact that if all men knew what each said of the other, there would not be four friends in the world. This is evident from the quarrels which arise from time to time through indiscreet revelations.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 210.

'A small matter consoles us, because a small matter afflicts us.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 215.

'He who would know fully the vanity of man, has only to consider the causes and effects of human love. The cause may be a mere nothing, but the effect is terrible. It may be so trifling as to be almost imperceptible, but yet it affects the whole earth, influencing princes, armies, all the world. Had the nose of Cleopatra been a little shorter, the whole course of the world might have been changed.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 207.

'Contradiction is no proof of falsehood. How many true things are contradicted. Neither is the absence of contradiction any proof of truth. How much that is false passes without contradiction!'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 215.

'Man is so constituted that by dint of telling him that he is a fool, he believes it, and by dint of saying so to oneself, one makes oneself believe it. For a man when he is alone has an inner communing with himself, which it is important to regulate. "Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia prava."'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 218.

'However far above us great men may be, they are

one with us (and with the least of us) at some point. They are not suspended in mid-air above us. No; if they are greater than we are, it is that they have the head higher, but their feet are as low as our own. *There* we are on the same level, and rest on the same earth, so that at one point the highest are in touch with the lowest.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 211.

'Justice without strength is powerless; strength without justice is tyrannical.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 134.

'Nature imitates herself. A seed cast into a good soil produces. A principle cast into a receptive mind brings forth.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 202.

'Self-will would never be satisfied, even if we could possess all that we desire; but we are satisfied as soon as we renounce it; for *without* self-will we cannot be discontented, and *with* self-will we can never be content.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 227.

'My humour does not depend on the weather. I have my fogs and fine days within me.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 200.

'When one reads either too fast or too slowly, one understands nothing.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 75.

'*Thine—Mine.* "This is *my* dog," say these poor children. "That sunny seat is *mine*." There is the beginning and type of the usurpation of the whole earth.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 186.

'This *I* is hateful. . . . In one word it has two qualities: it is essentially unjust, in that it makes *self* the centre of everything, and it is troublesome to others, in that it

seeks to make them subservient; for each *I* is the enemy, and would be the tyrant over all others.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 197–198.

'The incredulous are the most credulous. They believe in the miracles of Vespasian,[1] to escape from believing in those of Moses.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 221.

'The more intellect a man himself has, the more readily does he discern originality of mind in other men. Commonplace people perceive no difference between one man and another.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 186.

'Do you wish men to think well of you? Then never speak well of yourself.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 204.

'Men are very prone to mistake their imagination for their heart, and so they fancy themselves converted as soon as they begin to think about conversion.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 229.

'There is a vast distance between the knowledge of God and the love of God.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 230.

'To make a saint out of a man, there needs the grace of God; whoever doubts this cannot know what a saint is, or what a man is.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 222.

'Our imagination so magnifies the time present by dint of continually dwelling on it, and so contracts eternity by never thinking about it, that we make a nothing of eternity, and an eternity of nothing.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 23.

[1] Plutarch's 'Lives,' vol. vi. p. 262.

Fragments.

'It is dangerous to prove to man too plainly how nearly he is on a level with the brute creation, without also showing him his greatness. It is also dangerous to show him his greatness apart from his vileness. Still more dangerous is it to leave him in ignorance of both. But it is of great benefit to show him both.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 85.

'Moses for a people; Jesus Christ for all men.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 313.

'Who is it that bears witness of Mahomet? Himself. (Jesus says, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true.")'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 334.

'The highest achievement of reason is to recognise that an infinity of things exist which are beyond reason; and reason is but feeble if it reaches not thus far.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 347.

'There are two extremes: to exclude reason and to admit only reason.

. . . . . .

'If we submit everything to reason, there will be nothing mysterious or supernatural retained in our religion. If we violate the principles of reason, our religion will appear absurd and ridiculous.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 348.

'It is well to feel wearied and worn out in a vain pursuit after the true good, so that we may stretch out our weary arms to the One Deliverer.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 96.

'The Incarnation shows man the greatness of his misery by the greatness of the remedy needed.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 145.

'Jesus Christ is a God whom we must approach without pride, and before whom we may yet bow ourselves down without despair.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 314.

'Jesus Christ came to tell men that they had no other enemies but themselves; that it is their own evil passions which separate them from God; and that He came to destroy these evil passions, and give them His grace.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 318.

'It is a monstrous thing to see in the same man and at the same time such deep interest in the smallest things and such strange indifference to the greatest.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 11.

'The Stoics say, "Enter within yourselves, *there* you will find your rest," which is not true. Others say, "Go forth, seek for happiness in diversion;" neither is that true. Happiness is neither without us nor within us. It is found in God, both without and within us.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 93.

'The rivers of Babylon (the transient pleasures of life) flow and fall and carry us away. O holy Sion! where all is stable and where nothing passes away. Let us mark well whether our joys are stable or transient—stable like Sion, or passing away like the rivers of Babylon.'—*Faugère*, vol. i. p. 252 (taken from St. Augustine on Ps. cxxxvi.).

(In true religion) 'there is enough light for those whc desire to see, and enough obscurity for those of a contrary disposition.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 151.

'It is the heart which apprehends God, and not the reason. This is what faith is: God apprehended (felt) by the heart, not by the reason.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 172.

'Certainly there is no real good without the knowledge of God. . . . A man is happy or unhappy in proportion as he is near or far from God.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 20.

'To doubt is a misfortune; but when in doubt, it is an indispensable duty to seek to be free from it.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 20.

'Would the heir to an estate on finding the title-deeds say, "Perhaps they are false?" and would he neglect to examine them?'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 18.

'In spite of all the miseries which cleave to us, and hold us, as it were, by the throat, there is within us an irrepressible instinct which raises us.

'The greatness of man is so evident that it may be deduced from his very weakness. For what is nature in animals we call weakness (misery) in man, whereby we recognise that his present nature being similar to that of animals, he is fallen from that better nature which was once his.

'Thus, who counts himself miserable in that he is not a king, unless it be a king who has lost his crown? Did men pity Paulus Æmilius[1] because he was no longer consul? On the contrary, all the world thought him fortunate in that he had once been consul, for it was not his natural position to be so always. But when Perseus of Macedon lost the crown to which he was born, men thought his condition so wretched that they marvelled that he could survive his fall.

'Who thinks himself to be pitied because he has but one mouth? but who does not pity himself who has but one eye? No one perhaps has ever counted himself wretched

[1] Paulus Æmilius was born 228 B.C.; became Roman consul; conquered Perseus, king of Macedonia, whom he brought in triumph to Rome. Paulus Æmilius reproached Perseus for not killing himself.

for not having three eyes, but who would not be inconsolable to have none?

'If man had no feeling, he could not be miserable. A ruined house is not conscious of its desolation; . . . nor is a tree conscious of its decay; therefore they cannot be miserable.'

'Man is great in that he *knows* his own wretchedness.'

'His very miseries prove his greatness; they are the miseries of a great "Seigneur," of a dethroned king.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.

'Acknowledge, proud man, what a paradox thou art to thyself. Humble thyself, impotent Reason. Be silent, weak Nature; and know from Him who is your Master your true condition. Hearken to the Voice of God.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 104.

'The essence of the Christian religion consists in the mystery of a Redeemer, who, uniting in Himself the two natures, human and divine, has withdrawn men from the corruption of sin to reconcile them to God in His own Divine Person.

'This teaches us two great truths together—that there is in man a capacity of being like God, and at the same time a corruption in his nature which renders him unworthy of God.

'It is equally important to know both these truths. It is alike dangerous for a man to know God, without knowing his own misery, and to know his own misery without knowing the Redeemer who can rescue him.

'One knowledge produces the pride of the philosopher, who knows God but does not know his own misery; the other produces the despair of the atheist, who feels his own misery but knows no Redeemer.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 356.

'We can only know God through Jesus Christ. Without

this Mediator there is no communication with God. Those who have professed to know God without Jesus Christ could give no valid proofs of their knowledge.

'But to certify our faith in Jesus we have the prophecies, which are solid and palpable proofs; for these prophecies being accomplished and proved true by the event, attest the certainty of our religion and prove the divinity of Jesus Christ, in whom and by whom alone we can know God. . . .

'Jesus is Himself the true God of mankind, and we cannot know Him fully without also knowing our own original sin and wretchedness, for He is the promised Mediator and the Restorer of our fallen state.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. pp. 316, 317.

Prophecies.

Mal. iii. 1.—He shall have a Precursor.

Isa. ix. 6.—He shall be a Child born into the world.

Mic. v. 2.—He shall be born in the City of Bethlehem, and He shall be of the family of Judah and David.

Isa. lxi. 1.—He shall preach the Gospel to the poor and meek.

Isa. xlii. 7, 16.—The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and He shall lead them that sit in darkness to the light.

Isa. lv. 3, 4; xlii. 1-6.—He shall teach them the right way, and shall be a Witness and Leader to the Gentiles.

Isa. liii. 5-8.—He is to be the Sacrifice for the sins of the world.

Isa. xxviii. 16.—He is to be the sure and precious Foundation-stone.

Isa. viii. 14-15.—He is to be a Stone of stumbling and Rock of offence. Jerusalem will stumble and fall against this Stone. .

Ps. cxviii. 22.—The builders will reject this Stone. God will make this Stone the Head Stone of the corner.

Isa. liii. 3.—He is to be despised and rejected of men.

Zech. xi. 12, 13.—He is to be betrayed and sold.

Ps. xxii. 7–16.—He is to be afflicted and mocked, His hands and feet pierced.

Ps. lxix. 21.—Gall is to be given unto Him.

Ps. lxix. 7.—Shame and spitting shall cover His face.

Ps. xxii. 15.—He shall be put to death.

Ps. xxii. 18.—They will cast lots upon His vesture.

Ps. xvi. 10, 11; Ps. cx. 1.—He shall not see corruption, but shall rise to life and sit at the right hand of God.

Hosea iii. 4.—The Jews shall still exist as a race, but without a king.

Dan. ix. 26, 27.—Jerusalem and the Temple shall be destroyed. The sacrifices and oblations shall cease.

Dan. ix. 24.—Vision and prophecy shall be sealed.

Fragments.

'The God of the Christian is not a God who is merely the Author of geometrical truths and the order of the elements. This is the view of the Pagans and Epicureans.

'He is not merely a God who is the supreme Disposer of the lives and goods of men, that He may give a succession of happy years to those who worship Him. This was the view of the Jews.

But the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of the Christian, is a God of love and of consolation. He is a God who fills the heart and the soul which He possesses, who makes His people conscious at once of their misery and of His infinite compassion; who unites Himself with their innermost being, filling the soul with humility, joy, confidence, and love, rendering them incapable of desiring any other end but Himself.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. pp. 116, 117.

'The God of the Christian is a God who makes the soul feel that He is its only good, that all its peace is in Him, that its only blessedness can be in loving Him, and who makes the soul at the same time abhor the obstacles which hinder it from loving Him with all its strength. Self-love and all lust which thus hinder the soul, become insupportable to it. This gracious God makes the soul conscious that self-love is rooted in it, and that He alone can cure it.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. pp. 354, 355.

'Christ is the End and Centre of all. Whoever knows Him knows the reason of all things. Those who err fall into error by not seeing one of two things. We can know God without knowing our misery, and our misery without knowing God, but we cannot know Christ without knowing at once God and our misery.'—*Faugère*, vol. ii. p. 115.

Extracts from Letters.

'In our troubles we should seek consolation not in ourselves, not in men, nor in any created thing, but in God. And the reason for this is that things created are not the primary cause of those events in life which we wrongly call evils, God's providence being the true and real cause. . . . We must consider this event not by itself and apart from God, but apart from itself as the will of God, and in the order of His providence, which is the true cause of the event. . . . Thus we shall adore in humble silence and submission the Majesty of His impenetrable secrets, the justice of His decrees, and we shall unite our will to the will of God, and accept in Him, with Him, and for Him that which He has ordained in us and for us from all eternity.'—*Letter to his Brother-in-law, M. Périer, on the death of his Father, M. Etienne Pascal*, 1654.

. . . . . .

'I have learnt from a holy man that in our bereavements the most solid and useful service we can render to the dead is to do those things they would wish if they were still in this world, to follow those holy precepts which they gave us, and to place ourselves for their sakes in that state which they now desire for us.'—*Ibid.*, *Faugère*, vol. i. pp. 18, 19, 32.

. . . . . .

'Let us not consider him as having ceased to live, though nature suggests it, but as *beginning* to live, as Truth assures us. Let us not think of his soul as perished and reduced to nothingness, but as vivified and united to the Lord of Life, and, by dwelling on these truths, correct the erroneous ideas and feelings of horror which are so natural to man.'—*Ibid.*, *Faugère*, vol. i. p. 26.

'The present moment is the only time which is really our own, and which we ought to spend as God would have us.

Nevertheless, the world is so restless that we hardly ever think of the actual present and of the living moment, but of that which is before us. So that men are always living in the uncertain future, and never in the actual *Now*.'—*Letter to Mademoiselle de Roannes*, 1656.

'Our faults are corrected sometimes more effectually by the sight of that which is evil in others than by good example, and it is well to accustom oneself thus to profit by the evil example, which is so common, whereas the good example is so rare.'—*Ibid.*, *Faugère*, vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

'If God *continually* revealed Himself to men, there would be no merit in believing in Him; and if He *never* revealed Himself, there would be but little faith in the world. . . .

'All things cover some mystery; all things are veils which conceal God's presence.

'Christians should recognise God in all.'—*Ibid.*, *Faugère*, vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

'The essence of sin consists in having a will opposed to that which we know to be God's will; it is evident that when by events He reveals to us His will, it would be a sin not to conform ourselves to it.'—*Ibid.*, *Faugère*, vol. i. p. 44.

'The desire to conquer is so inherent in our nature, that when it hides itself under the cloak of making truth triumph, we often mistake one for the other, and fancy we are seeking the glory of God, when in reality we are seeking our own.'—*Letter to M. Périer*, *Faugère*, vol. i. p. 60.

'All things speak of God to those who know Him, and reveal Him to those who love Him.'—*Letter to Madame Périer*, *Faugère*, vol. i. p. 9.

'Thou didst touch me, and I burned for Thy peace.'—ST. AUGUSTINE'S *Confessions.*

The birthplace of the illustrious Pascal was Clermont-Ferrand, in the picturesque province of Auvergne, now the principal town in the department of the Puy-de-Dôme.

Pascal's family, like that of the great Arnauld, belonged to this province, and among the ancestors of both there had been distinguished members of the legal profession.

Etienne Pascal, the father of Blaise, followed the family vocation, and when he came to Paris as a young man, 'pour faire son droit,' he was furnished with a letter of introduction to Antoine Arnauld, the Procureur-Général, the father of Arnauld d'Andilly and the great Arnauld.

In the course of time Etienne Pascal became second president of the Cour des Aides at Clermont. He married in 1618 Antoinette Bégon, a woman of great piety and talent, by whom he had three children, who survived him. These were Gilberte, married in 1641 to her cousin, M. Périer, a counsellor of the Cour des Aides at Clermont; Blaise, the subject of this notice, born June 19, 1623, and Jacqueline, born two years later, who became a nun of Port-Royal.

In 1628 Madame Pascal died, and her husband not long afterwards retired from his legal duties; having sold his property at Clermont, he invested the amount in bonds upon the Hôtel-de-Ville, and took up his abode in Paris, where he devoted himself to the education of his three children; Blaise being then seven years old.

M. Pascal was himself a man of intellect and especially interested in scientific pursuits. His house soon became a centre where men of note gathered together. Amongst these were Descartes, Gassendi. the Père Mersenne, Roberval, Carcavé, and Le Pailleur; and from the réunions which took place at this time at the houses of these eminent men, the '*Académie des Sciences*' had its rise. 'This little band of *savants*, we are told, maintained a correspondence with the sages of other lands, and in this interchange of discovery the achievements of the domain of science were simultaneously extended.'[1] The young Blaise had from early childhood given proof of extraordinary precocity. No smart sayings are recorded of him, as of many clever children, but he possessed singular powers of observation. The *why* was ever present to his mind in all that he saw and heard, and the inquiries he made as to *the nature of things* made a deep impression on his father, who would not permit him to have any other instructor than himself.

M. Pascal's great object was always to keep the boy above his work. He did not, therefore, allow him to spend his time in acquiring dead languages till he was of an age to appreciate them. He gave Blaise a general idea of grammar, of its rules and exceptions, thus fitting him for the future study of Greek and Latin with facility; he instructed him in literature, and directed the boy's attention to the phenomena of Nature; but Blaise was not always satisfied with his father's explanations, and would try and find better reasons for himself.[2] With these secular lessons of M. Pascal was blended religious

[1] See *North British Review* (August 1844), Sir David Brewster on Pascal.

[2] See 'Pascal' (Principal Tulloch).

instruction, which was the groundwork of that piety afterwards so conspicuous in his family.[1] As an instance of the boy's observation, he remarked that when some one at table struck a plate with a knife, it gave out a loud sound, which ceased the instant the hand was placed upon it. Blaise could not rest till he had discovered for himself the cause; this led him to study the properties of *sound*, and at twelve years old he wrote a remarkable treatise, well reasoned out, on this subject. His memory was prodigious; what he had once grasped he never lost.

Though deeply interesting to himself, M. Pascal never permitted mathematics to be discussed in the presence of his son, as he desired to confine the eager mind of the boy as far as possible to the course of study which he had laid down for him. The bent of the boy's mind, however, overstepped his father's precautions. His curiosity could not be restrained, and at twelve years old he had intuitively acquired a knowledge of geometry. His sister tells us that Blaise had repeatedly, but in vain, asked for lessons in this science; 'his father had always put him off, telling him in general terms that it was the way to make correct figures, and to find the proportions which they bear to each other, at the same time forbidding him to speak of it again, or to think of it till he was older. The result was that, left to his own meditations, Blaise took a piece of charcoal, and with this drew figures upon the boards of the floor of his play-room, trying to make a circle which should be perfectly round, a triangle whose sides and angles should be equal, and other such things. Having discovered all this by himself, he next investigated the relative pro-

[1] See *North British Review*.

perties of figures; but geometrical terms being unknown to him, he always called a circle a round, a line a bar, and so on.'[1]

In this way, however, he pushed on by himself till he succeeded in obtaining a demonstration of the thirty-second proposition of the first book of Euclid. As he was engaged upon this, M. Pascal entered the room unperceived by Blaise, who was absorbed by his mental researches. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of his father; he asked him by what process he had come to these axioms unaided by books, and when told by the boy how he had been gradually led on from one demonstration to another, he was so amazed at his son's genius that he flew to his friend M. Le Pailleur to announce the extraordinary fact which he had discovered. M. Le Pailleur was equally surprised, and strongly advised that the boy should at once be given Euclid's 'Elements,' but as a book of diversion for his leisure hours. M. Pascal acted on this advice: he felt that he could no longer restrain the marvellous capacity for scientific problems evinced by his son, and from this time forth Blaise pursued his mathematical researches without hindrance, and with absorbing interest.

At sixteen he composed a treatise on conic sections which excited the astonishment and admiration of the scientific men of the day. It was shown to Descartes, whose astonishment was somewhat modified by incredulity, believing it impossible to be the product of so young a mind.

The distinction of his son, thus early acquired, filled the heart of M. Pascal with pride and exultation, whilst the talent and beauty of his two daughters made them almost as remarkable as their brother.

[1] Madame Périer's 'Life of Pascal.'

They studied Latin, mathematics, philosophy, and history with their father, and the name of Jacqueline Pascal has found a place amongst the illustrious women of the seventeenth century.

The eagle eye of Richelieu, ever quick to discern talent, had not failed to observe this gifted family, and he was heard to say, 'I will make something great of them.'[1]

Jacqueline early displayed a remarkable talent for versification. Learning to read had been to her, however, a great difficulty, till one day, when her elder sister was by chance reading aloud some verses, the ear of the child caught the cadence, and she joyfully exclaimed, 'If you wish me to read, teach me out of a book of poetry, and then I will say my lesson readily.'

Her request was gratified, and she quickly learned to read, and commenced almost immediately to make verses for her own amusement.

In 1638, being then twelve years old, she wrote a sonnet on the expected birth of an heir to the crown, which was thought worthy of being made known to the Queen. Jacqueline was consequently taken to St. Germain to present her verses to Anne of Austria, and whilst waiting for admittance in the royal anteroom, the ladies of the Court crowded around the young poetess, asking her to let them see her sonnet. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, 'la grande Mademoiselle,' who was then very young, begged her to compose an impromptu on herself. Without any shyness or hesitation, Jacqueline retired into a corner, and in a few minutes returned with her epigram. The child's facility was recognised, and after her presentation at Court she was often sent for, and was much made of, by Louis XIII. and the Queen.

[1] See 'Jacqueline Pascal' (Victor Cousin).

This same year (1638) Richelieu, by an arbitrary act, curtailed the interest of the bonds upon the Hotel-de-Ville, in which M. Pascal had invested all his savings. Meeting with some of his fellow-sufferers at the house of the Chancellor Seguier, words were uttered of a seditious character, which were reported to the Cardinal, and orders were immediately given for the offenders to be committed to the Bastille. M. Pascal, though himself innocent, was forced to hide, but the others were seized and imprisoned.

During her father's concealment Jacqueline, who was his favourite child, was attacked with small-pox, which left her greatly impaired in beauty, but during the continuance of the disease her father, unmindful of the risk of discovery, never quitted her bedside till all danger was past, when he repaired to Auvergne for safety.

Jacqueline was now thirteen, and of an age to feel keenly the loss of beauty; yet she seems to have accepted it rather as a favour than a sorrow, and in some verses written at this time she pours forth her thanks to God for thus guarding her from personal vanity.

The following year a play was got up by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon[1] for the Cardinal's amusement, in which all the characters were to be sustained by children. Jacqueline's services were required. After some demur on the part of her elder sister, Gilberte, who felt that they owed no favour to the Cardinal who had robbed them of parental care, the young girl was permitted to take part in the performance, in the hope that some good might accrue to their father.

Success attended her efforts. She was the prima donna on the occasion, and played her part to perfection. The

[1] The niece of Richelieu.

grace of her movements and charm of her acting delighted the Cardinal and his guests.

When the play was over she timidly approached him, and with fluttering voice recited some verses she had composed, asking pardon for her father. Richelieu received her graciously, exclaiming, as she drew near, 'Voilà la petite Pascal,' and afterwards kissing her, he bade her write to her father, and tell him that he might return with safety, and that he should be happy to restore him to his family.[1]

M. Pascal was recalled to Paris by his child, and was at once reinstated in the good graces of the Cardinal, who shortly afterwards appointed him to the post of 'Intendant' at Rouen, to which place M. Pascal withdrew with his three children.

Whilst at Rouen, Jacqueline attracted the notice of Corneille, the great French poet, who had retired to his native place to escape the ill-will of Richelieu. Corneille encouraged her in her poetical tastes, and suggested that she should contend for the annual prize awarded to the best composition in verse on the 'Conception of the Virgin.'

The prize of 1640 was allotted to Jacqueline, and was brought to her with the sound of trumpets and drums; but she was not in the least elated, her sister says, by her success, for she was naturally of a retiring disposition, and had even at fifteen all the simplicity of a young child.[2]

During this time Blaise continued to learn Greek and Latin, and to pursue his scientific studies with unremitting interest.

1 'Port-Royal' (Sainte-Beuve).
2 'Jacqueline Pascal' (Victor Cousin).

His father, who during the greater part of the day was occupied with his official business, would eagerly converse with his boy, whilst at meals, on logic, physical science, and mechanics, and these subjects so absorbed the youthful mind of Blaise, that his health was utterly undermined by the tax upon his mental powers, and from the age of eighteen he was hardly ever a day free from suffering.

At nineteen he invented his arithmetical machine, destined to simplify the work of calculation for his father. Blaise had the wonderful patience and perseverance to construct fifty different models of his machine before completing it to his satisfaction. This work occupied him two whole years, and the thought and labour bestowed upon its execution were no doubt in a great measure the cause of the breakdown of his nervous system.

He presented a model of his machine to Queen Christina of Sweden, who had not as yet relinquished her throne, and who was regarded as the great patroness of science.

At the commencement of the year 1646, when Blaise was in his twenty-third year, his father met with a serious accident, having fallen on the ice and dislocated his thigh, an event which led to important results in the Pascal family.

He was attended by two neighbouring gentlemen, MM. De la Bouteillerie and Des Landes, who from motives of pure Christian charity had studied the art of healing, and having built a hospital for the poor, devoted their lives to the care of the sick and suffering. Their character and conversation greatly impressed the whole family, and led M. Pascal to inquire through

what instrumentality they had been brought to adopt this life of self-abnegation. M. Des Landes then described to him the remarkable revival of religion which had taken place at Rouville under the preaching of the curé, M. Guillebert, a fervent disciple of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, giving him interesting details of the conversions which had followed, showing how M. de la Bouteillerie and himself, through M. Guillebert's teaching, had been led to devote all that they possessed to the service of God and His Church. At M. Pascal's request some of the works of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran were lent to him, and also one by Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, which had been translated into French by M. Arnauld d'Andilly. It was entitled 'The Reformation of the Inner Man,' and produced a profound impression on M. Pascal and his children.

As a family, they had ever been exact in the performance of all religious duties; but though exemplary in the observance of outward forms, no deeper feeling than a sense of duty had as yet manifested itself in their religious life.

Blaise was the first to be aroused by the words of M. Des Landes. Although full of respect for religion, and submissive as a child to the things which he had been taught, he had never pondered in his heart the deepest truths of Christianity.

Arnauld's book on 'La Fréquente Communion' now fell into his hands, and as he read, it seemed as though a film was removed from his eyes. 'Whereas he *was* blind, now he saw.'

The pursuit of geometry and all other science appeared to him utterly vain in comparison with that highest knowledge to which he was called. The words of Christ resounded in his heart—'But one thing is needful.' *To*

live for God only, to have no other object besides Him, appeared to Blaise a duty so clear, so imperative, that for a while he gave up all his scientific researches. He had had a glimpse of things Eternal, and all things else seemed as dust in the balance.

This has been called his first conversion.

His sister Jacqueline's confirmation took place this same year (1646), and she prepared for it by studying the writings of Saint-Cyran.

From the hour of her first communion she became a new creature, so manifest was the work of the Spirit of God within her.[1] Finally, Gilberte and their father and M. Périer (the husband of Gilberte) also gave themselves up to a life of devotion, the whole family placing themselves under the direction of M. Guillebert.

To Blaise there shortly came a time of struggle and spiritual combat: the passion which had absorbed him from his early youth could not be kept under; he was torn between his love of science and his desire to be free from all earthly pursuits and ties — 'd'horribles attaches,' as he afterwards styled them. Science proved the strongest, for his attention was irresistibly drawn the same year (1646) to the subject of atmospheric pressure.[2] It had already occupied the minds of Galileo and Torricelli, and in spite of his extreme physical debility, Blaise threw himself with ardour into the work of investigation, and was able successfully to test, by experiments of divers kinds, the discovery which Torricelli had made.

These were witnessed by a vast number of persons. When, however, his experiments became known in Paris, some persons were disposed to confound them with those

[1] 'Jacqueline Pascal' (Victor Cousin).
[2] See 'Pascal' (Principal Tulloch).

made in Italy, thus depriving Blaise Pascal of the credit due to him, attributing to others what he had done. Blaise Pascal did not put forth any claim to be the first to make these experiments; on the contrary, he expressly stated that they had originally been made in Italy four years previously; but to defend his own share in the *results* of these discoveries, Blaise, early in 1647, wrote a treatise entitled 'Nouvelles Expériences touchant le Vide,' in the which he showed that the old received notion that 'Nature abhors a vacuum' was false in principle. This led to a fierce attack upon Blaise Pascal by Père Noël, who was at the head of the Jesuit College in Paris; and the obstinacy and gross ignorance displayed by Noël on this occasion was doubtless the primary cause of the disdain with which Blaise Pascal regarded the opinions of the Jesuits, not only on scientific matters, but also in later times on theological questions.

New experiments were organised by Blaise in 1648 to verify the *conjecture* of Torricelli, *as yet unverified*, respecting the weight of the air. These were made in Auvergne on the Puy-de-Dôme, which rises to a height of 3000 feet, in the neighbourhood of Clermont, from which place M. Périer and his scientific friends started to make the ascent; Blaise himself, from the state of his health, being unable to conduct the experiments. The result was reported to Blaise, and clearly demonstrated that what had hitherto been attributed to the horror of a vacuum was really caused by atmospheric pressure.[1] Descartes, always somewhat acrimonious when he had to deal with a competitor, afterwards pretended that he had suggested to Blaise Pascal the experi-

[1] See Sir David Brewster's account of this in *North British Review*, August 1844, quoted by Principal Tulloch ('Pascal,' p. 33).

ments made on the Puy-de-Dôme; but Blaise knew that such was not the case, and he declined noticing the claims put forth by Descartes.

The condition of Blaise's health at this time caused grave anxiety to his family. He had been unable to tear himself away from scientific researches, but he was tortured with the thought that in returning to his old pursuits he had resisted higher influences, and proved himself unworthy of the grace bestowed upon him. This inward struggle and morbid retrospection, acting upon a highly wrought over-worked organisation, produced a complication of disorders.

The disturbed state of his nervous system brought on a species of paralysis of the lower members. He could not walk without crutches. The pain in his head made all study impossible, and so severe were the spasms in his throat if he attempted to drink, that he could only swallow hot fluids, and these drop by drop.

In the autumn of 1667 Blaise Pascal was removed to Paris to consult some new doctor. His younger sister, Jacqueline, accompanied him. Whilst there, the brother and sister often attended the services at Port-Royal-de-Paris, and heard the sermons of M. Singlin. Both were touched by his earnestness, but to Jacqueline it was a crisis in her life, for she resolved from that time to become a nun at Port-Royal.

She became acquainted, through M. Guillebert, with the Abbess, Mère Angélique, who, seeing in her the signs of a true penitent, consented to receive her, provided she obtained the approval of her father. M. Pascal, however, would not permit Jacqueline to enter the monastery. After his death, he said, she would be at liberty to do as she pleased; but to part from her whilst he lived

was a sacrifice to which he would not consent. She therefore remained with her father, leading as far as possible a conventual life of fasts and vigils and self-mortification.[1]

In 1651 M. Pascal died, and the obstacle to Jacqueline's wishes seemed to be removed. But a new difficulty arose. It was now her brother Blaise who refused to be parted from her. His father's death had greatly afflicted him, and he could not bear that she should leave him in his sorrow. For three months, therefore, she continued to be his companion; but at the end of that time, finding she could not prevail upon him to agree to her withdrawal, she quietly left his house, not without his knowledge, but without farewell, never to return. She was then twenty-six years old, and found in Port-Royal-de-Paris the refuge and seclusion which she had longed for.

Blaise Pascal had been the first to win her to a higher life; he had by his sympathy confirmed her in her desire to enter Port-Royal, and this change of feeling on his part surprised and pained her.

But circumstances had altered. For the last two years, from 1652 to 1654, her brother, by the advice of his physicians, had given up his former life of study and seclusion, and had sought amusement in society. Gradually his life had become that of a man of the world, without falling into any vice, but following the usual round of pleasure and dissipation; and though he still retained religious convictions, he was not prepared at this time to make any personal sacrifice in furtherance of her wishes.

After two months at Port-Royal, Jacqueline wrote to Blaise. It was a letter full of tenderness, asking him to

[1] 'Jacqueline Pascal' (Victor Cousin).

give her his approval of the step she had taken, and thus enable her to accomplish with joy and peace that which had so long, as he well knew, been the desire of her heart. She waited, she said, for this proof of his brotherly love, and prayed him to come to her divine betrothal; for without the assurance of his consent a shadow would be cast upon the greatest and most glorious act of her life. This touching appeal moved him, and he came to see her. The consent was given, but with evident reluctance; and when, in 1653—the year of her noviciate having expired—she wrote to tell him that she desired to bestow on Port-Royal and the poor the portion to which she was entitled of their father's property, Blaise Pascal was seriously offended, and reproached her for preferring to give to strangers rather than to her sister (Madame Périer) and himself. He told her, moreover, that she had no power to dispose of her fortune; it could not be withdrawn from her family. Jacqueline was greatly distressed. She considered that the monastery which had received her within its sacred walls had a right to the small portion she possessed. It was only rendering unto God that which was God's, and she felt indignant that her brother should seek to withhold it and allow her to be a burden to so poor a community.

No sooner was the Mère Angélique made acquainted with what had passed, than she at once advised a total renunciation of Jacqueline's claim, treating it as absolutely unimportant, and at the same time recalling the rule of their Order, '*to take nothing which was not freely given.*' A letter was despatched to her brother by Jacqueline in the terms prescribed by the Mère Angélique, yielding up her heritage to her sister and himself.

A few days afterwards, having received Jacqueline's

letter, Pascal presented himself at Port-Royal-de-Paris, and though she attempted to appear gay and unconcerned, he quickly perceived how grieved his sister was at heart, and, filled with concern, immediately resolved to set her mind at ease, by taking upon himself the payment of her portion, which he felt could not be withheld with justice from the monastery.

The whole affair was speedily settled, and on the 5th of June 1653 Jacqueline made her profession as a nun of Port-Royal.

Pascal continued to pursue his life of pleasure in Paris, but it had begun to pall upon him, and his conscience reproached him for having turned aside from the higher life which once he sought.

For the last three or four years an intimacy had sprung up with the Duc de Roannès. The Duc gave his friend an apartment in his own house, and took him more than once to Poitou, of which province he was governor, not liking to lose sight of a man whose genius he admired, and whose companionship he enjoyed. Pascal was thus brought into the midst of the pleasures and dangers of a luxurious life; the standard of morality was far from high in the society he habitually met at the Hôtel Roannès. It was, moreover, impregnated with the scepticism of the day, and though he was not contaminated by the moral disorders any more than by the atheistical opinions which surrounded him, he was not insensible to the charms of a brilliant and refined society, and the result was an attachment which sprung up towards the young sister of his host—an attachment which, owing to the difference in their position, could only lead in the end to disappointment on his part, and disapproval on that of her family.

Charlotte Gouffier de Roannès was but sixteen when Pascal's intimacy with her brother commenced. High born and beautiful, she was gifted with those moral qualities which far outweighed all others in the estimation of Pascal. The purity of his thoughts can be seen in his 'Discours sur l'Amour,' in which he says—

> 'The first effect of love is to inspire great respect;
> We venerate the being whom we love.'

Such was the feeling which filled the heart of Pascal for the sister of the Duc de Roannès. It may be that this earthly affection which he deemed hopeless, was partly the means of bringing him to a full sense of the insufficiency of the world to satisfy the aspirations of a soul which had known God.[1]

In the early autumn of 1654, Jacqueline Pascal tells us, she received frequent visits from her brother at Port-Royal. She had regained to a certain extent her influence over him, but she was conscious that he was under some yoke of bondage of which she did not know the nature, and that the religious fervour of earlier days had passed away. He so far opened his heart to her as to confess that he sometimes felt forcibly moved to withdraw from his present manner of life, and that he had a growing distaste for the excitement and the folly which surrounded him; but though in spirit detached in some degree from worldly things, and tormented by the prickings of conscience, he felt no upward movement towards a higher life. He was slipping away from the world without drawing nearer to God.

Whilst in this state of spiritual hesitation, halting between

[1] See Prosper Faugère, 'Pensées, Fragments et Lettres de Blaise Pascal.'

two opinions, the incident occurred which determined the bent of his mind and decided him to lead a religious life.

On a fête-day in the month of November 1654 he was driving in a carriage drawn by four horses, probably lent to him by the Duc de Roannès. Taking the same route out of Paris which is still so much frequented, he had arrived at the Bridge of Neuilly, which crosses the Seine, when the leading horses took fright and became unmanageable.

It happened that at this place there was no protecting parapet, and the frightened horses plunging, swerved and fell over into the river below. In another second the wheelers must have followed, dragging with them the carriage and its terrified occupant; but happily the strain on the harness was too great; the traces broke, the wheel horses and carriage stopped short on the brink, and Pascal was saved.

Always feeble in health, the shock to his nerves was so severe that he swooned away and remained for some time unconscious.

But to his returning sense a new horizon was to open. St. Paul's conversion as he journeyed was hardly more sudden than the change produced in Pascal by that eventful drive.

He had for some time past found it hard to kick against the pricks of conscience, but he was now ready to ask, 'What wilt Thou have me to do?' Coldness and indifference to spiritual things were superseded by the 'fire of love,' and his one desire was to know the will of God and do it.

As a symbol of his new-born faith, he carried about with him, hidden within the lining of his coat and pressed closely to his heart, a bit of parchment on which

he had inscribed mysterious words, referring to his miraculous escape and to some spiritual revelation vouchsafed to him at the moment when death appeared inevitable.

Pascal himself never alluded to this occurrence, except it may be to his confessor; and it was not till after his death that the mysterious parchment was discovered stitched by himself within his doublet.

His visits to his sister Jacqueline became more and more frequent, and this intercourse was of immense help to him at this time. She perceived that a great change had been wrought in him; his heart seemed now profoundly touched, and a holy sense of humiliation and sorrow for past neglect of religion was visible in all his words and acts.

Jacqueline wrote to her sister, Madame Périer, that she scarcely recognised him. The change was indeed so wonderful that it has been called his second conversion.

The choice of a spiritual director, so important to all devout Catholics, was felt by Pascal to be a difficulty, and it was a point which he and his sister often considered.

It chanced on the afternoon of the 8th December 1654 that Pascal was visiting Jacqueline at the monastery when the bell sounded summoning the community to prayer. He had had no thought of attending the service, but responding to the call, they went together to the church.

The preacher was M. Singlin; and to the sensitive mind of Pascal it seemed as though the sermon had been composed and preached expressly for him, so exactly was it suited to his case. Pascal regarded it as a divine message to himself, and the question of a director was settled; he at once resolved to place himself under the direction of the preacher.

M. Singlin's health made him hesitate to undertake the office; he also thought it advisable that Pascal should quit Paris for a season, and *before* the return of the Duc de Roannès, who would urge every plea of affection that he could devise to prevent Pascal's retirement from the world.

It was therefore decided that he should withdraw to Port-Royal-des-Champs, of which M. de Saci was the director, and join for a while the recluses at Les Granges.

Pascal was at this time thirty-one years of age, and from henceforth he adopted that austere mode of life which he maintained until his death. The change from the luxury he had lived in was great, and to most men would have been hard to bear, but to him it brought no sense of hardship. He was filled with joy from the consciousness of perfect reconciliation and union with God —a joy which none could take from him.

He loved poverty, he said, because Christ had loved it. He could rejoice even in pain and suffering because his Lord had suffered. The love of Christ was henceforth the passion of his life,[1] and ever bearing in mind that the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, he would suffer no one to wait on him, but was himself ever ready to minister to those who needed comfort or succour.

M. de Saci somewhat dreaded the arrival of 'the brilliant genius who charmed and fascinated every one he met;' but he could not refuse M. Singlin, who had placed Pascal under his spiritual direction. It was M. de Saci's habit, in conversation, to begin with the topic of most interest to his companion, or with which he was most familiar, and passing on from this, he would gradu-

[1] Sainte-Beuve, 'Port-Royal.'

ally introduce the subject of religion. He pursued this same course with Pascal, his new penitent, discoursing at first on philosophy and ending with citations from St. Augustine. He thus drew forth Pascal's famous description of the two systems of philosophy—the Stoical, exemplified by Epictetus,[1] and the Sceptical or Epicurean of Montaigne.[2]

Pascal regarded these as the two great defenders of the most celebrated philosophies of the world—men who professed to follow reason rather than revelation.

'The error in both,' he said, 'consisted in not seeing that the present state of man differs from that in which he was created. The one, discerning only the traces of his primitive grandeur and ignoring his corruption, has treated human nature as if it were unimpaired and complete, without any need of a repairer—this leads to the height of pride; the other, sensible of man's present misery and ignorant of his original dignity, treats human nature as hopelessly weak and corrupt, and thus, in despair of attaining any true good, plunges it into a depth of inertness and depravity.'[3]

The conversion of Pascal led later on to that of his friend, the Duc de Roannès, and so great was his influence over Mademoiselle de Roannès, that in 1657 she left her home and entered her noviciate at Port-Royal with the view of becoming a nun.[4]

The Duc de Roannès, by Pascal's advice, placed himself under the direction of M. Singlin. To the great disappointment of his family, the Duc declared his intention never to marry, in consequence of which Mademoiselle

[1] Epictetus, a half-Christian Stoic of the first century.

[2] Montaigne, a sceptic of the seventeenth century. His Essays are defined by Lamartine as 'the encyclopædia of scepticism.'

[3] Faugère. [4] Faugère.

de Roannès was forced by a *lettre-de-cachet*, procured from Anne of Austria, the Queen-mother, to quit Port-Royal. But in her own home she persisted in leading the life of a nun until 1665, when, Pascal being dead, she began again to mix in the world, and finally yielding to the wishes of her family, married M. de la Feuillade —a marriage which filled her with remorse ever afterwards, as contrary to the vows she had made at Port-Royal.

It was at the end of December 1654 that Pascal withdrew to the solitude of Port-Royal-des-Champs; he remained there during the greater part of the following year, but he never actually became enrolled as one of the recluses. It was an eventful year for Port-Royal. Scurrilous attacks were launched by the Jesuits against the Jansenists. The Duc de Liancourt was refused absolution by the priest at Saint-Sulpice owing to his connection with Port-Royal. Incensed by these repeated insults, Arnauld wrote a fiery pamphlet,[1] followed up by a letter, in which were assertions which his enemies seized upon as heretical.

The Sorbonne met in conclave to consider what he had written.

Numerous sittings had taken place, at which the Chancellor Séguier attended with great pomp and ceremonial, so that public curiosity became excited as to what was going on.

In all the salons these sittings of the Sorbonne formed the topic of conversation, and, to the consternation of the religious world of Paris. it was generally asserted that Arnauld, 'the great Arnauld'—the star of the Sorbonne—was accused of heresy on some fundamental article of faith.

The feeling of amazement increased, and loud murmurs

[1] See 'Arnauld,' p. 153.

were heard, as no attempt at refutation of this assertion appeared on the part of Arnauld.

The Jansenists were rapidly losing ground in public estimation. Many began to regard them as dangerous and incorrigible heretics. Arnauld was urged by all his friends to clear himself from these false imputations. 'Why,' they asked, 'should he allow himself to be condemned without making an effort to enlighten the public as to the real points in dispute?' He accordingly undertook to draw up a short treatise on the case, and after a few days he read it to his assembled friends. The treatise fell flat, and was coldly received: perceiving which, Arnauld quickly said, 'I see you do not approve of what I have written, and you are right.' Then turning to Pascal he exclaimed, 'But you who are young, who are clever, you ought to do something.' Pascal replied, 'In truth, I think I see how something might be done. But all that I can promise is to try and sketch out for you a plan. To others I must leave it to polish the materials and arrange them for the press.'

Modest to excess, Pascal, who had scarcely ever written except on scientific subjects, under-rated his own powers, and when he thought only to make a sketch, he produced a *chef-d'œuvre*. The next day he read to the recluses his first pamphlet, which he styled 'A Letter Written to a Provincial by one of his Friends.' It was received with acclamation, as certain to produce the desired effect. It was printed immediately, and appeared on the 23rd January 1656.

In another week a second letter was published. But the condemnation of Arnauld by the Sorbonne was already accomplished, in spite of the vehement opposition of his numerous friends. To bring this about, a number

of monks were introduced in order to swell the majority against him. It was scarcely a legal expedient, but, as Pascal said, 'It was easier to find monks than arguments in favour of his exclusion.'

The wit and pungency of these two letters produced a marvellous sensation. No one knew by whom they were written, and the curiosity of all parties became intense. Cardinal Mazarin laughed, we are told, till he cried over them.

The day before the censure was pronounced on Arnauld the first of the 'Lettres Provinciales' (as they were called by a misnomer) was read aloud to the learned doctors in the Hall of the Sorbonne, to the infinite amusement of some and indignation of others. The excitement and anger of the Jesuits may be imagined.

Now for the first time the secret was divulged to the world as to the trivial charges against Arnauld and the unscrupulous proceedings of the Sorbonne. But though the public were enlightened, the Court supported the Jesuits. The printer of the first letter was arrested. All the booksellers were forbidden to sell it, but the compositors fled from one hiding-place to another, and, in spite of ecclesiastical prohibition and royal displeasure, successive letters appeared and were distributed throughout Paris and sent in bales into the provinces.[1]

At first the letters were anonymous, but afterwards Pascal adopted the *nom de guerre* of Louis de Montalte.

During their publication it was necessary to quit Port-Royal, and he retired first to a small house at the Porte Saint-Michel, but for greater security he soon withdrew under an assumed name to an inn behind the Sorbonne and opposite the Jesuit College, thinking it most unlikely

[1] 'Les Premiers Jansenists' (Monseigneur Ricard).

that the author of the prohibited letters would be sought for so close to the stronghold of his adversaries.

Here he was joined by his brother-in-law, M. Périer, when an incident occurred which might have led to serious consequences. A relation of M. Périer—a Jesuit—came one morning to the inn, to warn him that the Society had good grounds for believing that his brother-in-law, M. Pascal, was the author of the malignant 'Lettres Provinciales.' Périer made some evasive reply and trembled with agitation, for at that very moment there lay on the bed, only partially concealed by a curtain, some twenty copies of the inculpated letters spread out to dry. No sooner had the Jesuit cousin taken his leave, than M. Périer rushed to Pascal's room overhead, and they were now able to laugh together over a past danger.

The resentment of the Jesuits was quite natural. Nothing could have been better conceived than these letters for the purpose in view, and that purpose was to cast ridicule on the Society whilst defending Arnauld. Where Arnauld himself had utterly failed, Pascal completely succeeded. The brilliant orator was unsuited to the task he had undertaken; his style of writing was cold and ponderous; whereas Pascal, while strictly logical and serious in his argument, had the skill to treat the subject in a light, sarcastic, and humorous manner.[1]

The first two letters were concerning Arnauld and the Sorbonne. 'We have been imposed upon,' he writes. 'It was only yesterday that I was undeceived. Until then I had thought that the disputes of the Sorbonne were really important, and deeply affected the interests of religion. The frequent convocation of an assembly

[1] Voltaire says, 'Les meilleures comédies de Molière n'ont pas plus de sel que les premières Provinciales. Bossuet n'a rien de plus sublime que les dernières.'

so illustrious as that of the Theological Faculty of Paris, attended by such unprecedented circumstances, induced the highest expectations, and one could not help believing that the business must be of unusual importance. You will be much surprised, however, when you learn from this letter the upshot of the grand demonstration.'

He then goes on to say that two questions alone were under examination—the one a question of 'fact,' the other of 'right.' In the three first letters, and still more in the seventeenth and eighteenth, Pascal points out with convincing clearness the distinction between these two questions, termed '*le droit*' and '*le fait*,' which the Jesuits persistently and consciously overlooked. The '*droit*,' *i.e.*, the right of the Pope to condemn the five propositions, was never for a moment doubted or disputed by the Jansenists, who at once accepted the Papal condemnation as binding upon the Catholic Church. The '*fait*' was a totally different matter, being a question of fact as to whether the five condemned propositions were or were not in Jansen's book, the 'Augustinus.' Pascal justly contends that one is a matter of faith and doctrine, in which the decision of the Pope is absolute and final, the other (utterly trivial in comparison) is a mere matter of fact, in which the Pope himself may be mistaken, and which could only be determined by a careful perusal of the suspected book. He crowns this line of argument by giving examples where Popes have been deceived on matters of 'fact,' and sums up with the recent decree of Rome proscribing the opinion of Galileo on the movement of the earth round the sun.[1] Interspersed with the letters are fictitious replies from the friend in the country, written in the most naïve manner, and enlarging on the

[1] Galileo condemned by the Inquisition, June 1633. Urban VIII.

interest the letters excited, and how they had been read and admired by all; not merely by theologians, but by statesmen, by men of the world, and even by ladies, who found them delightful reading. Pascal showed his knowledge of men when he introduced these flattering replies, describing the prodigious success of what he had himself written. The letters were taken at his own valuation, and read with eagerness in all the French salons.[1]

The style of writing of the 'Provinciales' was so original, so fresh and natural, and the wit so keen, that a master-mind was perceptible in every line, and men sought in vain amongst the authors of the day for the writer. None at first suspected Pascal, who up to this time had never turned his mind to the study of theology (so called); therefore when he commenced these eighteen letters, he had not only style and form to create, but he had likewise to unravel the involved and intricate casuistry of his opponents. His ardour in defence of Arnauld and his genius carried him through all difficulties, and he made points of everything which came in his way. The false teaching of the casuists was exposed; 'they were arraigned on the charge of having systematically debased the standard of evangelical morality for the purpose of increasing their own influence.'[2] All the satire of Pascal was brought to bear upon this point whilst in eloquent and exalted terms he vindicated Christian morality.

Voltaire considered the letters as 'models of eloquence and pleasantry;' and compared them with 'the best comedies of Molière.'

[1] 'The "Lettres Provinciales" were welcomed for their wit by the salons of Paris, and as witnesses for truth by all the morality of Europe.' —'Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy,' F. D. Maurice.

[2] 'All Europe read and admired, laughed and wept,' over these letters. —'History of England,' vol. ii. p. 60, Lord Macaulay.

When Bossuet was asked what work he would most like to have written, he replied, 'Les Lettres Provinciales.' Boileau pronounced them 'unsurpassed' in ancient or modern prose.[1] Madame de Sévigné asks, 'Is it possible to have a more perfect style, an irony finer, more delicate, more natural, more worthy of the Dialogues of Plato?' And Gibbon attributes his own mastery of grave and temperate irony to their frequent perusal.

In these days, it may be difficult fully to estimate the force of these celebrated letters. Their point is lost through the distance of time or our own want of interest in the controversy; so that, like the famous political letters of Junius, the 'Provincial Letters,' which stirred so powerfully Pascal's cotemporaries, may be to most of us somewhat tedious reading. Time has no doubt dimmed their brilliancy. But if in the case of the 'Lettres Provinciales' we are disposed to wonder at the enthusiasm with which such masters of style and eloquence regarded them, the same wonder cannot be felt with regard to the incomplete fragments known as his 'Pensées,' which must ever have an attraction for thoughtful seekers after spiritual truth. When first published, the beauty of the work seems to have been greatly impaired by omissions and additions made by his friends, and it was only after a lapse of nearly

[1] In a letter of Madame de Sévigné, she speaks of a dinner at which, among other guests, Boileau and a certain Jesuit Father were present. The conversation turned on ancient and modern literature. Boileau took the side of the ancients warmly. In his opinion they were far above the moderns. 'But,' said he, 'I must make one exception. There is a writer, and a single one, of our own time who surpasses all others, ancient or modern.' The Jesuit, who was listening attentively, eagerly asked the name of the author on whom he set so high a store. Boileau declined to say. When pressed by all present, and especially by the Jesuit, who wished to sit up all night to read the work, he replied, 'Morbleu, mon Père, you should not ask me; but as you insist on knowing the author's name,—it is Pascal!' 'Pascal!' echoed the Jesuit, red with anger and astonishment. 'His work is subtle falsehood!' 'Falsehood!' retorted Boileau; 'it is as true as it is inimitable.' See 'Lettres de Madame Sévigné,' p. 299.

two centuries that a complete and authentic text of the 'Pensées' appeared.

After Arnauld's condemnation, Port-Royal also became endangered, and the success of the 'Provincial Letters' tended to increase the exasperation of the Jesuits. In the Sorbonne all those doctors who had refused to sign the censure were expelled, and a few weeks later orders were issued for the dispersion of the recluses and the removal of the children under their care and tuition.[1] This is called the second dispersion, the first having taken place in 1638. But at this juncture the notable incident called the 'Miracle of the Holy Thorn' took place, and changed the whole aspect of affairs for Port-Royal.

The child on whom the miraculous cure was effected was Marguerite Périer, the niece of Pascal.[2]

It so happened that just at this time Pascal was much occupied with a work which he had in view on the evidences of the Christian religion, in refutation of the atheistic reasoning which made miracles impossible, and this 'Miracle of the Holy Thorn,' which he fully accepted, seemed to him to bring a ray of light from above to his spiritual vision, and to give him a fresh link in the chain of Christian evidences.[3]

In the following year (1657) the 'Lettres Provinciales' were placed on the Roman Index, formally censured, and publicly burnt in Paris by order of the King.

But although the 'Lettres Provinciales' met with these indignities, they had done their work, and had opened

[1] Racine, then a boy of sixteen, was one of those who were removed at this time.

[2] See 'Mère Angélique,' p. 124.

[3] See 'Port-Royal' (Saint-Beuve), tom. iii. chap. xviii.

the eyes of the public to the falseness of the casuists and the pernicious tendency of their maxims.

The letters had indeed been condemned and degraded, but the laxity of morals which the letters denounced was afterwards censured and condemned by the Pope,[1] the Sorbonne, and the whole assembly of the clergy of France, with Bossuet, the oracle of the Gallican Church, at their head.

Pascal himself never regretted having written them. On the contrary, he always maintained that what he had therein condemned would be condemned in heaven: 'Ad tuum Domine Jesu tribunal appello.' And to Pascal belongs the glory of having effected a great moral triumph and purged the Church from a grave and latent scandal.

During the year 1657 to 1658 Pascal devoted himself to the 'Pensées,' but in the spring of the latter year he was again seized with the same nervous malady from which he had suffered in earlier days. His health visibly declined, and his physical suffering was so great as to prevent all continuous study. He pursued his task at intervals, jotting down the thoughts as they came to him, on slips of paper without any attempt at arrangement.

The self-imposed privations and ascetic practices in which he found a morbid satisfaction increased his nervous disorder. He suffered intensely at times, but he had recourse to a singular means of alleviation, which showed that his early love of geometry, in spite of his efforts to crush it, was still instinct with life.

When his pain was extreme, he recalled to mind certain geometrical problems, and worked them out with such resolution that his absorbing mental occupation completely dispelled for the time the pain.

[1] Pope Innocent XI. in 1679.

This is perhaps the first instance on record of a man being able by a powerful exercise of the intellect to hold his bodily pain in check.

The few remaining years of Pascal's life were marked by increased suffering.

We must turn for a brief space to his favourite sister, Jacqueline, who was Sub-Prioress of Port-Royal-des-Champs. On the departure of the Mère Angélique in April 1661 for the sister monastery in Paris, the charge of Port-Royal-des-Champs had devolved upon Jacqueline.

In the month of June following, the house was unexpectedly visited by Commissioners from Paris, who interrogated her and every nun separately as to the doctrines they held. The result was that the Commissioners departed, confessing that they had found no trace of heresy among them.

Through some inadvertence the nuns of Port-Royal-de-Paris failed to inform the sisterhood in the country of what was taking place in their monastery; so that when the dreaded formulary appeared, it was as a thunderbolt to the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

With it was sent an explanatory document or 'mandate,' which also required the signature of the nuns, and which had been drawn up by the Grand Vicars of the diocese, with the secret concurrence of Arnauld and Nicole. The document defined sufficiently clearly the distinction drawn by the Jansenists between the '*droit*' and the '*fait*,' but this was rendered null and void by the wording of the formulary, which demanded entire submission to the doctrinal decisions of the Pope, and passed over altogether the controverted question as to the *existence* of the five condemned propositions in the 'Augustinus.' The mandate was but a bait to allure the unwary, but it failed in its object. It deceived no one. Jacqueline saw through

its insincerity, and, startled by its wording, hesitated to comply with the order. In her eyes the mandate was too ambiguous, the formulary only too clear. She abhorred all equivocation, and to sign a paper which omitted the important question whether the condemned propositions *were* or *were not* in Jansen's book, was to her mind like 'consenting to a lie, without denying the truth,' or like 'offering incense to an idol, with the excuse that you held a cross hidden within your sleeve.' She sent a letter to the Sub-Prioress of the Paris community, to be shown to Arnauld, written in spirited and pathetic terms, protesting against 'the crooked ways' by which it was now sought to obtain their signatures. In this letter she blamed the bishops and doctors of the Church for their dissimulation and cowardice in not boldly avowing what they believed—*i.e.*, that the five heretical propositions were *not* to be found in the 'Augustinus.'

'It might not be the province of a woman,' she wrote, 'to speak in defence of the truth, yet when bishops have only the courage of women, women should have the courage of bishops, and if they might not defend the truth, they could at least die for it.' Believing, however, that she was bound by her vows of obedience, she at length gave way, and in bitterness of heart she signed. It was her death-blow. She never recovered from the wound to her conscience. Troubled by remorse and thinking that she had betrayed the cause of truth, Jacqueline Pascal died four months afterwards, 'the first victim of the enforced signature.'

When the news of his sister's death was brought to Pascal, 'God give us grace to die as good a death,' was all that he said; but he determined from that moment to act as she would have wished.

He reversed the line he had before taken with regard to the signature of the Port-Royalists. He had himself signed the first 'mandate' with the explanatory clause respecting the '*droit*' and the '*fait*.' Jacqueline, perhaps swayed by his example, had also signed and died. She had signed reluctantly; reluctance was followed by remorse, and Pascal would no longer hear of compromise or concession.

He only outlived her ten months.

When in October the second mandate appeared, requiring all the members of Port-Royal to sign the formulary *without reservation*, he firmly and vehemently opposed the signature, as a base surrender of truth to expediency. To Arnauld and the other confessors and doctors of Port-Royal, who had met to discuss the question, and who firmly advised the signature of the document, Pascal said, 'You seek to save Port-Royal. You can never save it, but you may hasten its ruin, and give your own consciences a lasting wound by being traitors to truth.'

He prevailed nothing with the others by his earnestness, but on himself his impassioned appeal in the cause of truth told seriously. Exhausted by excitement and disappointment, he fell to the ground and was for some time unconscious. On being afterwards asked by his sister, Madame Périer, what was the cause of his attack, he said, 'When I saw those to whom I believed God had committed the truth, and who were bound to be its defenders, yield to expediency, I was so overcome with grief and pain that I fainted away.'

After-times proved but too clearly that Pascal was right, and that no concession could avail where a cause was fore-doomed.

The Port-Royalists deeply lamented the estrangement which followed upon this conflict of opinion between Arnauld and Pascal, but after a while a complete reconciliation took place, and Arnauld, Nicole, and Sainte-Marthe came often to visit him during his last illness. They came in disguise, being in hiding from their enemies, and fearing that if recognised they would be cast into prison.

Two months before his death Pascal quitted his own house near the Porte-Saint-Michel for that of his sister, Madame Périer, in the Rue Neuve Saint-Etienne. It was through a touching incident.

In his exceeding charity he had received into his house a poor family—husband, wife, and children. One of the sons caught the small-pox, and Pascal became afraid lest Madame Périer, who visited him daily, should carry the infection back to her own children. Instead of removing the sick youth from his house, Pascal, already ill, thought the more simple plan was to remove himself.

During the last weeks of his life Pascal's mind dwelt with intense fervour and devotion on the passion of the Lord, His desertion, His agony, and death on the Cross; and in his extreme sensitiveness he shrank from being tended with so much care—he, a sinful man—when his Lord and Master had no friendly hand to soothe Him in His death. He therefore implored his sister to allow some poor suffering outcast to be moved to his room, and at least share the comforts and tender care bestowed on himself, and thus enable him to minister unto the Lord, through one of His poor members. 'Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, *Mihi fecistis.*'

When this was proved to be impossible, he then asked that he himself might be moved to the Hospital of the Incurables, and die in company with God's poor.

Pascal's constant petition was to be allowed to receive the sacraments of the Church, but his weakness was so great that the doctors feared any excitement and delayed giving permission. He confessed not only to the curé of his parish, but also to M. de Sainte-Marthe, one of the confessors of Port-Royal.

At midnight on the 19th August 1662 his end drew near, and the priest entered the room of the dying man with the last sacraments and exclaimed, 'Behold, here is He for whom you have so long waited.'

Aroused to consciousness by these solemn words, Pascal recovered sufficient strength to raise himself in his bed without help. 'The joy of the Lord was his strength' in that supreme effort; he would have knelt, had it been possible, so as to receive with the deepest reverence the Divine mysteries. After the last Sacraments had been administered, he thanked the priest, as he was leaving him, and in a voice full of emotion exclaimed, 'May God never leave me.'

Pascal's love for the poor, his wish to die among them, his great humility, his sensitive tenderness for God's truth, and his courage in upholding it, must endear him to the hearts of all true followers of Christ.

There was a vein of deep melancholy in his nature, intensified by ill-health; his thoughts ever dwelt on the sombre side of life. The misery of man, the brevity of existence, were ever present to his mind, making him turn away with stern rebuke from the frivolities, and even we must add from the amenities, of life. Still, as has been said, 'It must be a cold heart that is not moved by the picture of a great soul striving to renounce all pleasure and all superfluities,' that he might in all things be conformed to the image of his Divine Master. 'He in truth looked forth on this common life of ours with

eyes filled with tears—tears not only of sorrow, but almost of displeasure.'[1]

He was buried in the Church of St. Etienne du Mont, where the inscription is still legible on his tomb.

Thus died Pascal in the plenitude of love and faith.[2]

He had himself written mournfully 'I must die alone,'[3] but in the hour of death he was not alone. God was with him, and in his last moments he of whom we think as full of sadness, found the fulness of joy in the conscious presence of his God.

[1] Principal Tulloch.
[2] See Sainte-Beuve ('Port-Royal'), tom. iii. p. 368.
[3] 'On mourra seul.'

LOUIS-SEBASTIEN LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT.

B. 1637. D. 1698.

'The scandal we have most to fear is the scandal we give our neighbour by our bad example.'

'The separation from the world which piety requires, should not lessen in any way the love we bear to our fellow-men. It should rather purify and increase that love.'

'For a single fault some persons with indiscreet zeal withdraw from a friend. . . . This conduct is entirely opposed to charity, which requires that we should bear one another's burden, and help each other to rise after a fall. This can only be done by a loving tolerance towards others.'

'Courtesy makes us *say* that we are less than others, and humility makes us *think* so. Courtesy puts humble words into the mouth. Humility humble thoughts into the heart.'

'No sooner has a person committed a fault than we are apt to think all his piety is at an end. But in this we judge very rashly and very unjustly. If to be a saint every action must have been saintly, our calendar would be very scant. Those who take upon themselves to be such rigid censors ought to consider how much they need the charity of others to cover and bear with the faults in themselves.

Let them then deal with others as they would themselves be dealt with.'

'Let us have faith and we have all. If we love God and are under His rule, we are in safety. In Him alone we must put all our trust, making use with thankfulness of the help we may get from men, but only regarding them as under His direction.'

'A true Christian has this advantage—he may be free from all disquietude. Loving only God, who dwells not in the restless, but in the peaceful soul, he has the comfort of feeling sure that nothing happens to himself or to others but by permission of Him whom he loves, and that therefore nothing can really harm him or them.'

'Though the whole earth have nothing for you but contempt and even aversion, what harm can all this do you if you really love God, and, following in the way which Jesus Christ has taught you, love the Cross and its humiliations?'

'True piety does not dry up our tears, but it makes them flow in the right channel.'

'If this inner piety, which is peculiar to the Christian religion, could be perfected in this life, it might perhaps produce a worship and an adoration wholly inward and spiritual, like that of the angels. But that which it cannot do now it will accomplish in heaven, where the saints will ceaselessly adore and praise God in divine songs which love will form in their hearts, with no jarring sounds of earth to interrupt or mar the harmony, for there will be nothing there but what is accordant, immutable, and eternal.'

'À qui Dieu est tout, le monde n'est rien.'—ST. FRANÇOIS DE SALES.

Louis-Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont was born in Paris in 1637. His father, Jean le Nain, held the office of Maître des Requêtes. He was a zealous supporter of Port-Royal, and sent his son Louis, at the age of ten, to be educated in the schools lately established by the recluses in the Rue Saint-Dominique. From thence the young Tillemont was removed to Les Granges, and from first to last, according to M. de Sainte-Beuve, he was 'the ideal pupil of Port-Royal.'

The boy was naturally of a meek and gentle disposition, grave beyond his years, and so fond of study, that when other children were at their games, he would shut himself up in his room with his books. Livy's History was his favourite reading.

He made rapid progress in learning, and his preference for history, especially ecclesiastical history, was speedily developed. He early commenced studying the 'Annales Ecclesiastici' of Baronius, under the guidance of Nicole, and so intelligent and persistent were his questions, that Nicole tells us he sometimes found himself embarrassed how to reply to his pupil's astute queries. In after years, when Nicole was engaged in controversy with the Calvinist ministers, it was he who had to apply to his former pupil to solve some difficult point in early Church history.

At the age of fourteen Tillemont commenced gathering materials for the great work which was to make his name known as an ecclesiastical historian. His thoughts ranged themselves around the first six centuries of the Church, and he diligently applied himself to the study of the

Scriptures as the fountain-head, and to the writings of the Fathers. Having drawn up a short plan of his proposed work, beginning from apostolic times, he showed it to his masters who saw in this sketch so much genius that they advised him to devote himself to early Church history. He loved knowledge for itself; his studies were not for fame; they were purely disinterested, and without any view of publication or future renown. He strove to consecrate them by earnest prayer and the thought of God's presence.

Although Nicole was Tillemont's chief instructor at Port-Royal, M. de Saci was his spiritual director, and the friend to whom he turned for counsel. He had full sympathy with the lad, and bade him pray more, and wait upon God to keep him from all touch of display.

When in 1656 the schools of Port-Royal were closed and the scholars dispersed, Tillemont took up his abode in Paris with his fellow-pupil and friend, M. du Fossé. Here the young men were joined by a good priest appointed by M. Singlin to look after them, and spent four years of close study.

In 1660 the two friends moved to Saint-Jean-des-Trous, where they continued their ecclesiastical researches under the guidance of the parish priest, a learned doctor of the College of Navarre.

Tillemont allowed nothing to interfere with his work or divert him from his studies, but Du Fossé was not equally abstracted from the outer world. To him the state entry of Louis XIV. and his queen, Marie Thérèse, into Paris was an irresistible sight, whilst for his friend it had no attraction whatever.

When the persecution of the Jansenists recommenced, Tillemont sought refuge in the diocese of Beauvais,

where the good Bishop (Buzenval) received him with open arms. He was but twenty-four years old, but his reputation for learning had preceded him, and he was shown every mark of respect and esteem.

The masters of the seminary at Beauvais where he lodged, pointed him out to their scholars as a model of learning and application, and they themselves often consulted him on some obscure point in early Church history. Tillemont's natural diffidence made all this distasteful to him. Praise was what he most dreaded and shunned. To his modest and sensitive nature 'a compliment was like receiving a blow,' and disturbed by the consideration in which he was held, he wrote to M. de Saci, saying that he dreaded above all things this atmosphere of flattery, and would willingly leave Beauvais for a more retired place if M. de Saci approved. His director quieted his scruples for the time, and he remained on at Beauvais under the protection of the Bishop.

Eight or nine years passed away in quiet study over the work which Tillemont regarded as the task divinely appointed to him. He had not made choice of any profession, and sought no kind of advancement; he was content to remain a student till his life's end. The Bishop, after some difficulty, succeeded in persuading him to receive the tonsure. When, however, M. de Beauvais followed this up by urging him to enter the priesthood, saying that it would be the greatest consolation to himself to think that Tillemont might be his successor in the diocese, the modest scruples of the young deacon revived, and to avoid the pressure put upon him by the Bishop, he quitted the seminary and retired to the house of his friend, M. Herment, whom he materially assisted in his work on the four Greek Fathers.

Finally, having obtained his father's permission, he determined to leave Beauvais and return to Paris, where he again established himself with his old friend and fellow-student Du Fossé. For two years the friends remained together in a small house they had rented in the Rue Saint-Victor, Faubourg Saint-Marceau. It was whilst here that Du Fossé published the lives of Tertullian and Origen, to which Tillemont had largely contributed.

It was his great pleasure thus to efface himself and serve the Church through others, giving them freely and secretly of his abundant knowledge.

The 'Peace of the Church' opened the way for M. de Tillemont's return to Port-Royal. He sighed for the quiet of the country, for the woods where of old he had been accustomed to meditate, and in 1672 he left Paris for Saint-Lambert, a village between Chévreuse and Port-Royal.

He was now once more with M. de Saci, who in the exercise of his authority overcame Tillemont's scruples on the score of personal unworthiness, and led him to receive successively the ecclesiastical orders, and finally, at the age of forty, that of priesthood (1676).

M. de Saci wished that Tillemont should be his successor in the direction of souls; and with this view a small lodging was built for him in the courtyard of Port-Royal-des-Champs. But it was of little use. In 1679 the 'Peace of the Church' came to a sudden end, and he was ordered to leave the monastery. He then retired to Tillemont, a small estate near Vincennes, from which he derived his name. Here he lived until his death, with the exception of a short visit to Holland to see Arnauld and the Dutch Jansenists. It was a tranquil monotonous life, passed in devotion and the exact observance of the

offices of the Church. A daily walk was his chief relaxation, when he would wend his way, staff in hand, among the woods he knew so well, singing the chants he loved. Tillemont had always a good word for those he met in his daily walk. To the children tending cows in the field he had something to say. He was heard to ask them 'how it was that such great animals allowed themselves to be led by a little child,' thus trying to awaken in them the sense that, young and small as they were, there was something higher and nobler in them than in the poor animals, even their souls. 'The soul of a little child was more beautiful,' he said, 'than the sun in its splendour, but that sin had deformed and made it ugly,' and then he tried to make them understand what sin was. 'It is that,' he said, 'which you dare not do before others whom you love or fear.'

Tillemont's tenderness of conscience was not weakened as he laboured in the course of his History through the arid paths of religious controversy. On the contrary, he was frequently disquieted with the fear lest his love of study should become a snare to him, and so engross his thoughts as to lower his spiritual life. He was conscious that at times he felt an inward reluctance to put aside his literary work even for the sacred duties he had to fulfil. He dreaded lest spiritual lukewarmness should take the place of that divine fervour which needs to be nourished by prayer and meditation at the feet of Christ. He resolved, therefore, that however absorbed in his studies, he would close them the very minute the appointed hour for prayer had struck. If he could not divert his thoughts, he could at least shut up his books, and he felt that this exactitude was a solemn duty he owed to God and to the Church.

Tillemont's great work appeared only a few years before his death. It consists of two parts. The first is entitled 'Histoire des Empereurs et des Princes qui ont régné durant les Six Premiers Siècles.' The second part is called 'Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des Six Premiers Siècles.' Twenty-two quarto volumes in all—eight only of which appeared in the lifetime of Tillemont. The first volume, published in 1690, was well received. In the *Journal des Savants* there was a notice of it strongly eulogistic. His father, proud of his son's success, was urgent that he should read it. But Tillemont, strong in "the strength of a profound humility," excused himself. He was glad, he said, to think he had not laboured in vain, and that his work might be useful to others; but he needed no incitement to his vanity, which was only too strong already by nature.

Tillemont's volume did not pass unchallenged. The Oratorian Père Lami put forward a protest against his view of the Paschal Feast. Lami held that our Lord did not partake of it the night before He suffered; whereas Tillemont, holding fast to the Scripture narrative and early tradition of the Church, maintained that our Lord partook of the Paschal Feast before instituting the Holy Eucharist. Even in controversy Tillemont was always deferential. On this occasion he consulted Bossuet, and showed him the letter he had written in reply to Père Lami. Bossuet thought it too humble in tone, and said with a smile, as he returned the letter to Tillemont, 'Do not be always on your knees before your adversary—at least sometimes stand upright and face him.' On the other hand, Nicole regarded this letter as a model for all Christians engaged in controversy.

Gibbon the historian, in writing his work on the Roman

Empire, made great use of Tillemont's 'Histoire des Empereurs,' which he praised for its wonderful fulness and accuracy. He said that 'Tillemont's compilations might be considered as an immense repertory of almost all that the Fathers have preserved, invented, or believed,'[1] and had made it unnecessary for him to wade through the ocean of theological controversy.

Like another Bede, Tillemont laboured on devoutly, indefatigably, to the end of his life. He lived to complete the task he had set himself. In his last illness he said he could have wished for a few more years to put the finishing touches to it; but when told that his hours were numbered, he at once yielded himself up to Him 'who knew,' he said, 'what was best,' and shortly afterwards exclaimed, 'How happy it now is to have only to occupy oneself with God and the things of God!'

Tillemont's submission to his earthly father had always been that of a child. It is said he would never, even at sixty, take any important step without previously asking his consent, and now at the close of life he intrusted himself in perfect peace into the hands of his Heavenly Father.

Tillemont was buried at Port-Royal-des-Champs. On his tomb these words were engraved, '*Sancte educatus, sancte vixit.*'

M. le Nain was present at his son's death, and followed him in a few days, being nearly ninety years old.

[1] See 'Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon,' vol. ii.

PASQUIER QUESNEL.

B. 1634. D. 1719.

'God is our life; we only die when we lose Him.'

'Perhaps in all of us the *Pharisee* lurks in some corner.'

'Let us love God. This is all that is needful in this world and the other.'

'All should be Christian in a Christian.'

'There are many mansions in the house of the enemy of souls, as well as in the house of our Father.'

'To insist upon *seeing* is a very bad condition to be in for *believing*.'

'There is not a moment to lose where another moment is uncertain.'

'Whatever our condition, we must be of the order of true penitents to be saved.'

'God's work sustains the worker.'

'All is as nothing to whom God is everything.'

'Almsgiving does not impoverish. It empties the hand, but it fills the heart.'

'You open the heart of others when you open yours to them.'

'Humility is at the same time the mother and the daughter of faith.'

'He who is humble in heart only casts his eye upon his neighbour's life, that he may imitate the good which he sees therein.'

'Where charity is, there is Jesus Christ; where division is, there is the devil.'

'Charity is an eternal debt. It has no limit.'

'Every Christian is a Barabbas delivered from death by the death of Jesus.'

'The heart should give alms when the hand cannot.'

'One is saved many a fall if humility keeps one near the ground.'

St. Matt. ii. 11.—'To open one's heart is to open one's treasure.'

'Send not back to Providence the poor whom Providence sends to you.'

'It often happens that the more one reasons, the more one gets perplexed. The secret of peace of heart is to allow oneself to be led. It is enough for him who loves God to know God's will, that he may simply through His grace *do it*, without seeking to know the reason.'

St. Matt. i. 23.—'*Immanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us.*'

'In Jesus Christ dwells all the fulness of the God-

head substantially and bodily. Of this fulness we receive, for it dwells *with* us and *in* us by Jesus Christ, who, through the wondrous means of faith, deigns to dwell in our hearts.

'What consolation is ours in this gift of faith, which enables us to say at all times and on all occasions, *Nobiscum Deus—God with us!* Thou art with us, Lord, by Thine incarnation; deign also to be with us by the living impress and sense of Thy divine presence, through the blessed influence of Thy spirit, Thy grace, Thy love.'

St. Matt. ii. 2–7.—'*We have seen His star.*'

'Jesus Christ is our Star; but too often we search His Word with perverse mind, through conceit or for vain speculation . . . not seeking *the spirit* of the Word. We ask at what time the star appeared, but we follow it not.'

'We shall never return heavenwards except by a path directly opposite to that which led us away. It is the greatest of all illusions to imagine that one can be converted without changing our way of life, and to fancy that one can get to heaven by the same road which was leading us to perdition.'

St. Matt. xxvii. 50.—'*Jesus cried again with a loud voice and yielded up His spirit.*'

'Oh, cry of Jesus, penetrate to the very depth of my heart. Heal its dulness; draw it forth from its torpor, that it may be wholly absorbed in adoring, loving, and praising a God dying for my soul's salvation, so that all *self* may be annihilated before the cross.

'This last moment of the life of Jesus is the source of confidence to the dying. In my last hour may my spirit be with Thine, O Jesus, and by Thy death may mine be sanctified.'

'No man can light the sacred fire in the heart of another, unless his own soul is thereby inflamed.'—ST. GREGORY.

Pasquier Quesnel was born in Paris (1634). He is said to have been of Scottish descent. He studied theology and philosophy with great distinction at the Sorbonne, and in 1657 he entered the Congregation of the Oratory, established by Cardinal de Bérulle.

Here he gave much time to the study of the Scriptures and the works of the Fathers of the Church. He composed books of devotion for the young, and his work entitled 'Pensées Chrétiennes sur les Quatre Evangiles,' written for the youths under his charge, was received with so much approbation, that at the age of twenty-eight he was raised to the post of director of the Oratorian school.

He also brought out a new edition of the works of St. Leo the Great, with marginal notes, in which he strongly defended the attitude of the Church of France in the fifth century, in opposition to the pretensions of the Roman See.[1] This brought upon Quesnel the displeasure of the Pope, and his book was put upon the Index. By this time Jansenist doctrines had spread rapidly both in France and in the Netherlands. The Oratorians, as a body, secretly favoured the new opinions. Quesnel himself was a warm disciple of Jansen, and M. Abel Louis de Sainte-Marthe, the general of the Oratorians, was at heart a Jansenist.

Quesnel's intimacy with M. de Sainte-Marthe drew upon

[1] Quesnel defended St. Hilary of Arles, the Gallican Metropolitan, who was put under arrest by St. Leo for maintaining the independence of the Gallican Church. St. Hilary escaped from prison, and though deposed by Leo, retained his dignity as Metropolitan till his death.

him the disfavour of M. de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, who looked with suspicion on any one whose views savoured of Jansenism, and who was determined to purge out this leaven from the Congregation of the Oratory. By his intrigues M. de Harlay had excluded M. de Breuil from the generalship, on account of his Jansenistic tendencies, but he had not succeeded in placing the candidate of his own choice as general, and, to his great vexation, M. de Sainte-Marthe had been elected to the office.

Before long, however, M. de Harlay had his way. M. de Sainte-Marthe was exiled, M. de Breuil was dismissed to Rouen, and in 1681 Quesnel himself was ordered to quit Paris. He repaired to Orleans, and whilst there he continued his work on the New Testament. His 'Reflections on the Four Gospels' had already been published, and had met with a most favourable reception; he now added 'Reflections' on the Acts and Epistles, which he had begun in Paris by the advice of Nicole.

But in 1684 an incident occurred which forced him to quit France. This was the appearance of an Anti-Jansenist formula, drawn up some six years before, but not put into force till now. All the members of the Congregation of the Oratory were required to affix their signatures to this formula, which interdicted all teaching savouring of the doctrines of Jansenius in theology or of Descartes in philosophy. Quesnel and his friends resolved to quit France rather than affix their signatures to 'a senseless and despotic document.' Quesnel joined Arnauld at Brussels, and remained there till his friend's death in 1694. During his stay in the Netherlands, Quesnel finished his 'Réflexions Morales,' and in 1692 he brought out the whole work on the New Testament. In spite of its Jansenism, several bishops gave it their approval,

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and it even attracted many Ultramontane admirers. M. de Noailles, Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, not only gave the work his sanction, but recommended it to his clergy as 'bread for the strong and milk for the feeble.'

It went through three editions in spite of the Jesuits, who tried to set the minds of people against it by defaming the author as 'a seditious and dangerous man.'

On the sudden death of M. de Harlay in 1695, M. de Noailles was raised to the vacant archbishopric.

In 1696 (the year following the elevation of M. de Noailles), M. de Saint-Cyran's nephew, M. de Barcos, published a treatise called, 'Exposition de la Foi de l'Eglise touchant la Grace et la Prédestination.' It was immediately condemned by the new Archbishop as 'false, impious, blasphemous, and heretical, and worthy of anathema for renewing the doctrines of the five propositions of Jansen.' The Archbishop's strong language did not pass unanswered.

It was quickly followed by the famous 'Ecclesiastical Problem,' almost as smartly written as the 'Lettres Provinciales,' in which the writer asks 'whether one ought to believe M. Louis Antoine de Noailles, Bishop of Chalons in 1695, or M. Louis Antoine de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris in 1696.'

'A parallel is drawn between the "Reflections" by Quesnel, which the *Bishop* approved, and the "Exposition" by Barcos, which the *Archbishop* condemned, proving the absolute identity of the doctrine set forth. The "Problem" was ordered to be burnt, but M. de Noailles' character as an honest man and a theologian was seriously damaged.'[1]

[1] See Dr. Neale's 'History of the so-called Jansenist Church,' also *Christian Remembrancer* ('Jansenists'), January 1852.

In 1701 the famous 'Case of Conscience' appeared; the old dispute about the '*droit*' and the '*fait*' had seemingly worn itself out. Peace had been restored on this point rather through exhaustion than through any formal agreement; but, unfortunately, in this year the question was revived by the misplaced zeal of a friend of Port-Royal-des-Champs. A priest named Eustace, a confessor, wishing to satisfy his own scruples and those of others, drew up an imaginary case of conscience, which he submitted to the Sorbonne. It related to the precise nature of the submission which was required to the Papal Bulls against Jansenism. 'Not believing in the "*fait*" that Jansen's book contained heretical propositions, could a faithful servant of the Church conscientiously sign the formula with certain mental reservations, understood but not expressed?'

In other words, could he, by maintaining a respectful silence, be considered as obedient to the Papal decision and be entitled to priestly absolution?

Forty doctors of the Sorbonne signed their assent, but for a year the case remained unsettled. Suddenly it appeared in a pamphlet with a preface, which created an uproar in the theological world. The pamphlet was sent to Rome and condemned. Pope Clement XI. (Albani) wrote briefs to the King and the Archbishop, notifying his condemnation and urging stringent measures on the part of the Archbishop.

The King solicited a new Bull from the Pope, and in this Bull (known as '*Vineam Domini Sabaoth*') it was required that *all* who signed should acknowledge that Jansen's book (the 'Augustinus') was infected with heresy. In 1705 M. de Noailles was elevated to the dignity of Cardinal. He had up to this time protected Port-Royal,

and borne testimony to the purity of the faith of the nuns; but he was weak, and, in the words of M. de Saint-Cyran, 'the weak are more to be feared than the wicked, and so it proved. He reluctantly gave way to the King on every point; he was forced into executing a mandament censuring the 'case of conscience' as 'calculated to renew quarrels and favour equivocations and mental reservations.' The Bull was accepted by the whole assembly of the clergy; the forty doctors (with one exception) retracted their previous assent, and the one who stood out was expelled from the Sorbonne. The foolish author of the 'Case of Conscience' disappeared from the scene, broken-hearted at the mischief he had unwittingly caused.

Further troubles awaited the Jansenists. In May 1703 Quesnel's place of concealment in Brussels was discovered, and he was suddenly arrested. Since the death of Arnauld in 1694 he had been the 'oracle' of the Port-Royalists: the mantle of that great leader had fallen upon him, and his capture, with that of all his papers, struck consternation into the whole party.

The Archbishop of Malines had obtained an order from Philip V. of Spain for his arrest, and he was thrown into the Archbishop's prison at Brussels.

Many of Quesnel's friends were compromised by his papers, and were sent to the Bastile. The Jesuits were triumphant; they alleged that plots and counterplots against the King and the Government had been brought to light.

Fresh severities awaited the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs. A theological warfare was going on outside the monastery, and their opponents were stronger than ever in their influence over the King. What could a few poor Sisters do to withstand the storm?

In March 1706, the Pope's Bull, '*Vineam Domini Sabaoth*,' as well as the Cardinal's mandament, headed 'Against Jansenists,' were ordered to be read to the Abbess (Mère Boulard) and the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs by their confessor. The separate signature of each nun was not required, but the confessor and the Abbess were to sign a certificate for the whole community, stating that the Bull and the Cardinal's mandament had been duly read and accepted.

The *heading* of the latter alarmed them; they saw that the face of the Cardinal-Archbishop was turned from them, but, come what might, they resolved not to give their assent unconditionally.

They declared that 'they received both the Bull and the mandament with all the respect due to His Holiness and the Cardinal-Archbishop, *but without derogating from what was settled for them at the Peace of the Church under Clement IX.*' This saving clause referred to the distinction between '*le droit*' and '*le fait*,' admitted by Clement IX., and contained the pith of the matter.

Neither the King nor the Cardinal were satisfied; their acceptance must be *unconditional.*

Another ecclesiastic was sent to induce them to withdraw the conditional clause they had inserted. One by one the nuns refused; 'they could not do what was contrary to their conscience.' Threats and entreaties were alike vain. They felt that 'the certificate *without* the additional clause would be interpreted as a condemnation of the course pursued by the holy abbesses, the learned and pious doctors, whose lives were the glory of their house.'

They preferred to run the risk of extinction rather than abandon the ground they had gained at the Peace of the Church.[1]

[1] 'Histoire Abrégée' (Abbé Guilbert); Beard's 'Port-Royal.'

This was their last word.

To their joy, they learnt that Quesnel had escaped from his prison, through the friendly help of a Spaniard, who had contrived to make a hole in the prison wall sufficiently large to admit of his egress. He escaped to Amsterdam. This marvellous deliverance, which was looked upon as a miracle, had invested him with fresh spiritual authority.

The nuns applied to him for counsel. He replied 'that the form prescribed was most specious. It had the appearance of asking almost nothing to preserve everything; whereas, in truth, it asked the sacrifice of everything and promised nothing.'

He commended their resistance, and said the resolution of these faithful servants of God to risk all rather than betray their conscience by accepting this insidious document, was a duty they owed to truth and justice.' 'They might,' he said, 'be bereft of all, they might be torn from their monastery and dispersed, deprived of the Sacraments, their monastery delivered up to others or destroyed, but in a few short years they would carry to the tribunal on high the sacred deposit committed to them of *fidelity to the truth*, and though ruined by the injustice of men, such an end would resemble that of the holy martyrs, who made a sacrifice of all and died for the cause of truth.'

'It brought them into closer communion with their Lord and Master, whose witness for truth brought death' In the words of the Saviour he added, 'He who would save his life shall lose it, and he who would lose his life for My sake shall save it.'

Quesnel's letter reanimated their courage, and they resolved to sacrifice all rather than make a concession

which they felt the Mère Angélique would have deemed disloyal, and even disgraceful.

'They would not for the sake of present safety sully the fair fame of a century of devotion to truth.'[1]

So this little band of faithful women held their fidelity to the last, and were willing to suffer unto death, if need be, rather than attest what they firmly believed to be false. Death was not far distant to some of them.

The Sub-Prioress, the Abbess (Mère Boulard), and the Prioress herself, quickly followed one another to the grave. The Abbess in her last hours nominated Sœur Louise du Mesnil to the office of Prioress, knowing her to be one who would follow in the steps of Angélique and Agnes Arnauld. Cardinal de Noailles refused to allow the appointment of Abbess to be filled up, so that from this time Port-Royal-des-Champs was governed by Louise du Mesnil, the new Prioress. A stringent decree was issued by the Cardinal prohibiting the reception of novices. It was the death-knell of the community.

At this time a fresh claim was put forth by the sisterhood of Port-Royal-de-Paris on the revenue of the mother monastery. Cardinal de Noailles had hitherto refused to listen to this demand; but things had altered, and the Abbess of Port-Royal-de-Paris thought that a favourable moment had arrived to renew her suit.

A petition was accordingly presented to the King, who ordered an inspection to be made of the property of the two monasteries. This took place in 1707, and the result was that the scanty income of Port-Royal-des-Champs was reduced for the benefit of Port-Royal-de-Paris.

Not content with this success, a further petition was

[1] See Beard's 'Port-Royal.'

presented to the King, praying for the total suppression of the old monastery.

Louis XIV. put the whole matter in the hands of Cardinal de Noailles, who appointed 'a commission of inquiry.' The nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs drew up a remonstrance, and finding their words were of no avail, they made an appeal to the higher court of Lyons, and thus for a while stayed the hand of M. de Noailles.

Further fruitless efforts were made to induce them to accept the Bull unconditionally; and on their refusal, the nuns were again deprived of the Sacraments, as they had been before the 'Peace of the Church.'

The King became impatient at the dilatory proceedings of the Cardinal, and rebuked him sharply, saying, 'If the Bishop of Chartres had had the affair of Port-Royal in his hands, he would have finished it in a fortnight.' But the Cardinal was hampered by the nuns' appeal to the court of Lyons, and it required a Bull from Rome to set it aside and give him plenary power.

On the 27th of March 1708, Clement XI. issued a Bull commanding the union of the two monasteries, but providing that 'the sisters of Port-Royal-des-Champs should remain in peaceable possession of their house and have the entire use of their church till their death.' This did not at all satisfy the King. 'If he were to wait,' he said 'till the last lay sister died, he might not have the pleasure of seeing in his lifetime the final extinction of Port-Royal-des-Champs.

A new Bull was therefore issued at his solicitation, which gave full powers to M. de Noailles to suppress the Abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs, and transmit its property to Port-Royal-de-Paris. It went on to say that this 'nest of error' must be utterly uprooted, and the nuns and lay

sisters transferred together or separately to other religious houses, as was judged best by the Archbishop.

Cardinal de Noailles, however, was cautious, and he determined not to proceed without some show of justice. He therefore ordered a preliminary visit to be paid to both monasteries, and witnesses to be interrogated as to the advantages or disadvantages (*de commodo vel incommodo*) of a re-union of the two houses. Port-Royal-de-Paris was first visited, and on the 13th April 1709 Port-Royal-des-Champs underwent examination.

Witnesses were heard, and even the priests and farmers of the neighbouring villages were called to give their testimony. One of these last replied that 'he did not know what was meant by "commodo" or "incommodo," but that the charity of the nuns was unbounded, and that he had himself experienced it in an hour of need.' 'They do alike to every one,' he said, 'and nothing but good is spoken of them.' Even the Cardinal was forced to admit that the monastery he was about to suppress was guilty of no other crime than disobedience.

But the nuns were not to be suppressed without a gallant struggle against injustice. 'After exhausting all the resources of legal defence, these helpless and apparently feeble women disputed every inch of ground by protests, remonstrances, and petitions, which for the moment at least held their assailants in check, and which yet remain a wondrous monument of their perseverance and capacity, and of the absolute self-control which, amidst the outpourings of their grief and the exposure of their wrongs, restrained every expression of asperity or resentment.'[1]

But all was in vain; their protests and petitions were rejected, and seeing that all their efforts were fruitless,

[1] See Sir James Stephen's 'Ecclesiastical Biography' ('Port-Royalists').

the nuns remained calm and immovable, waiting for the bitter end.

On the 11th July 1709 the Cardinal gave forth his decree, which suppressed for ever the title of 'Abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs,' and consigned it with all its rights and revenues to the Paris monastery. But this decree required the confirmation of Parliament, which caused some weeks' delay.

On the 1st of October the Prioress of Port-Royal-de-Paris, with the concurrence of the weak and vacillating De Noailles, made her appearance unexpectedly at Port-Royal-des-Champs. She came accompanied by two of her nuns and two notaries, to take possession of the monastery. The Mère du Mesnil, the Prioress, received her with civility in the parlour, but refused to acknowledge her authority, as the decision of the court of Lyons to their appeal had not yet been given. The discomfited Abbess took her departure. A *procès verbal* was made, and she proceeded to Saint-Cyr to narrate to Madame de Maintenon all that had occurred. The next act was an Order in Council requiring the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs to acknowledge the Abbess of Port-Royal-de-Paris 'as their lawful head.'

The King's confessor at this time was the Jesuit Père le Tellier, Père la Chaise having died at the commencement of the year.

Le Tellier vehemently urged the King to have recourse to force, and to disperse the recusant nuns at once by an armed band. His advice was followed, and His Most Christian Majesty, who, it has been said, 'did penance for his own sins on the backs of the Jansenists and Huguenots,' gave the order for their immediate dispersion.

Lettres de cachet were issued, and great secrecy was to be

observed. M. d'Argenson, the lieutenant of police, was charged by the King with the commission. Every precaution was taken, as though it concerned the capture of a troop of brigands.

On October 28, 1709, three hundred archers and gens-d'armes were sent to Port-Royal-des-Champs, and passed the night in the woods and surrounding villages.

At an early hour the next morning M. d'Argenson arrived at the monastery. A guard was placed at the entrance, that none might escape. The twenty-two nuns against whom this force was sent knew nothing of what was going on.

They were leaving the choir after mass, when M. d'Argenson was announced, and requested to see the Prioress.

She immediately received him in the parlour. He required that all the keys of the monastery should be given to him, and informed her that he had received an order from his Majesty to take possession of all the title-deeds and papers lodged in the archives. The Prioress then accompanied M. d'Argenson over the house. Whilst the examination of the papers was going on, the bell rang for Tierce, and she asked permission to attend the service with her nuns, to which M. d'Argenson consented, 'If not too long.'

Some of the Sisters inquired anxiously of the Mère du Mesnil 'what all this meant?' She replied calmly, 'It is another visit of inspection of our house. I know not what may be the result. God only knows! Let us cast ourselves into the arms of His mercy. He knows our needs better than we do ourselves. Let us go to Tierce.'

God indeed was their only refuge, and to Him they now

poured out their souls in prayer. They chanted the verses of the twenty-fifth Psalm, 'Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam. Deus meus, in te confido non erubescam.' This was followed by the 'Veni Creator,' sung with trembling voice, imploring grace and strength to bear what might be before them.

Mère du Mesnil then rejoined M. d'Argenson, who ordered all the chapter to assemble. The bell rang, and the nuns appeared. M. d'Argenson inquired if all were there. 'All,' the Prioress replied, 'but one aged paralytic.' 'If she cannot walk,' was the rejoinder, 'carry her; all must be present.' Six lay sisters soon appeared carrying the paralysed woman on a mattress placed on a stretcher, chanting the burial psalm 'In Exitu' ('When Israel went out of Egypt'), and at the last verse deposited the aged nun on the floor of the chapter-house. She was eighty-six years old and quite helpless. The door of the chapter-house was then closed and guarded. M. d'Argenson seated himself in the vacant place usually reserved for the Abbess. He said that he was charged with a *lettre de cachet* for each of them, that a great sacrifice was demanded, and, much as he regretted it, the commands of the King must be faithfully and punctually carried out.

This was to be their last meeting. On leaving the chapter-house, they were to be dispersed and sent each to a separate religious house, without the diocese of Paris. Within three hours they must depart. The Mère du Mesnil quietly said 'It was enough. One half-hour would be sufficient to make up their small packets, taking with them their breviaries, their Bibles, and their rules.'

The nuns gathered together, and encouraged each

other by their faith and love, being 'fully persuaded,' they said, 'of their union in God;' and then kneeling down, asked pardon one of another as they bade each other farewell.

The Prioress, Louise du Mesnil, was the last to go. She saw her aged Sisters one by one depart from the home which had sheltered them from youth to age. As each knelt before her, asking her parting benediction, she never lost her self-command; she shed no tear, no murmur escaped her lips; she tenderly embraced each one in turn, and commended them all to God. 'Be faithful to the end.' These were her last words, and nobly did she fulfil her own counsels.[1] Her courage touched the officers in command of the force sent to arrest them, and even M. d'Argenson could not conceal his sympathy.

Twelve carriages and a litter were waiting to convey them to their separate destinations; but the poor paralytic was by some oversight left on her stretcher forgotten. Each carriage was sent by a different route, so that no demonstration or excitement should take place among the poor in the neighbourhood, whose chief support was from the charity of the nuns. Cries were, however, heard on all sides: 'Must we die of hunger?' as they caught sight of their benefactresses being carried away.[2]

When the nuns were gone, M. d'Argenson dismissed the servants. One of them, passing by the chapter-house,

[1] Mère du Mesnil was conveyed to a convent at Blois belonging to the Ursulines, and though treated with extreme rigour and deprived of all religious consolations, she never wavered during her six years of captivity, but maintained her faith untarnished to the last, dying in perfect peace, though denied priestly absolution. She was buried in a place apart, without the usual funeral rites.

[2] 'Histoire Abrégée' (Racine), p. 317.

saw the poor, forlorn paralytic lying there on her stretcher.

Touched with compassion, the servant approached her with expressions of sorrow that she should have been left alone and without food all day. The poor helpless creature, who was looked upon as half-witted and rarely spoke, answered, 'My Sister, this is man's day, but that of the Lord will come.' M. d'Argenson had her conveyed in a litter the following morning to a convent at Nantes.

On the same day (30th October) a Jesuit priest arrived at the monastery. He was sent to inspect the books, MSS., images, and pictures, and to give a report of them to Père le Tellier. He performed his task with great zeal, making a minute examination of everything, and seizing the MSS., even to the texts from Scripture which were found in the nuns' books. The likenesses of Arnauld, Saint-Cyran, and the Mère Agnes he looked upon with horror, tearing some of them in pieces. He expressed great disapprobation of M. de Saci's New Testament, and also of his translation of the 'Imitation.'

After the priest had left the monastery, M. d'Argenson collected all the papers and documents, and had them placed in a large room, which he locked, and to the door of which he affixed his seal. The library was likewise closed. M. d'Argenson took his leave, and the monastery was left in charge of twelve archers and two officers of police. A scene of noisy riot then commenced; the soldiers laid their hands on all the provisions in the building, smoking and drinking everywhere, and pillaging whatever they found.[1] Cardinal de Noailles, shocked at

[1] 'Mémoires Historiques' (Abbé Guilbert), tom. vi. p. 125.

the report of their intemperance and profanity, sent an order to the chaplain to remove secretly the Holy Sacrament from the church, for fear of profanation.

On the 19th November carts were sent to Port-Royal to remove all the books and pictures (some by Philippe de Champagne), and the soldiers also departed; the keys of the building being left in charge of a notary.

When M. d'Argenson returned to Paris, he informed the King of the constancy and perfect obedience of the nuns. The King coldly replied that he was 'glad of their obedience, but sorry that they were not of his religion.'

The news of these proceedings against Port-Royal spread rapidly. All Paris was stirred by a feeling of shame and indignation that a body of three hundred archers should have been despatched against twenty-two poor nuns, to drive them from their monastery and place them each in separate establishments. So cruel and arbitrary a measure against aged women might well call forth universal sympathy.

Fénelon was no friend to Port-Royal, yet even he admits, in a letter written at this time, that such a display of authority as had recently taken place there, could but excite compassion for the Sisters and indignation against their oppressors.

Port-Royal-des-Champs thus deserted, what was to become of it? Cardinal de Noailles insisted on the nuns of Port-Royal-de-Paris being transferred there; but this did not suit the tastes of the community and their worldly Abbess. She went to Port-Royal-des-Champs for a few days in November, but returned, saying that her health had suffered from her stay in the monastery. Other reasons led to the abandonment of this idea. The monastery in Paris would thus have become empty; the Jesuits were eager to establish them-

selves there, and this would have made an outcry, not only on the part of the friends of Port-Royal, but also on the part of other religious communities, already jealous of their power and influence.

The question of what was to become of Port-Royal-des-Champs was solved by an order from the King on the 22nd January 1710 for its demolition. At first it was resolved to save the church and leave a small building for the use of the chaplain, and the factor who would sell the materials after the destruction of the monastery for the benefit of Port-Royal-de-Paris, that house being largely in debt.

The destruction of the church, built in the thirteenth century by the architect of the Cathedral of Amiens, was, however, destined to follow.

The cemetery was to be abolished, and the bodies exhumed, so that it might no longer be regarded as holy ground.

For five hundred years it had been a place of burial, and in the last century it had become especially sacred; holy men dying in distant lands or away from the spot had desired that they might be interred at Port-Royal-des-Champs, where the bodies of so many of God's servants and saints were laid to rest. Agnes Arnauld, who had been the fellow-worker of Angélique in the reform of the monastery, Jacqueline Pascal, Angélique de Saint-Jean, were among the holy women who lay there.

Le Maitre, De Saci, De Séricourt, Hamon, Racine, Tillemont—names dear to Port-Royal and her schools—all were buried here, and now the royal decree was issued that the bodies were to be dug up and transported elsewhere.

Those of the Arnauld family were claimed by the

Marquis de Pomponne (the son of Arnauld d'Andilly), who presented a petition to the King begging permission that they might be removed to Pomponne, that '*posterity might forget that they had been interred in a place which had had the misfortune to displease His Majesty.*'

Permission was granted, provided that the exhumation should take place at night.

The bodies of Le Maître, De Saci, and Racine were taken to the Church of Saint-Etienne du Mont in Paris, where Pascal already lay. Some of those not named here were reinterred, through the intervention of a good priest, in the parish church of Magny.

The well-known horrors that were enacted in 1711, when the church and cemeteries were left in the possession of rude workmen charged with the inhuman task of breaking open the graves of the nuns and carting the bodies in tumbrils to the Cemetery of Saint-Lambert, where they were thrown in one huge mass into a common pit, need not be detailed in these pages; but M. Sainte-Beuve reminds us how in 1793 (some eighty years afterwards) this violation of the tombs of Port-Royal was re-enacted with all its horrors in the royal vaults of Saint-Denis.[1]

The destruction of the church was finally accomplished in 1713, when it was razed to the ground.

The ruin and devastation of Port-Royal was a tragic episode in the long theological strife between Jesuits and

[1] It is said that one day when the destroyers were at work with their pickaxes, Cardinal de Noailles went secretly to visit the spot. God's acre had become an immense charnel-house, and when the loose jests of the men who trenched up the ground met his ear where once solemn requiems were pronounced over the holy dead, a pang of remorse seized him and he burst into tears. The curiosity which had led him to Port-Royal-des-Champs was 'like that of the criminal who revisits the spot which has witnessed his crime.' See 'Les Derniers Jansénistes' (Léon Séché).

Jansenists. Its overthrow had been the work of the Jesuit Le Tellier, with the consent of Louis XIV., who thought thereby to put an end to Jansenism: but he failed in this object. 'The spirit of Port-Royal lived on, and still lives.'[1]

Quesnel was still living, and, though sorely smitten by this last event, was yet a power in the Church, and a formidable adversary to encounter.

In the course of this fierce theological warfare between Jesuits and Jansenists two books may be taken as landmarks. The 'Augustinus' of Jansen marks the rise, and the 'Réflexions Morales' of Quesnel the decline, of this long controversy. About this time a fourth edition of the latter work appeared, and raised a storm which lasted through the greater part of the eighteenth century.

The 'Augustinus' had been condemned by a Bull of Pope Innocent X. in 1653, when *five* propositions (*said*, but never *proved* to be in it) were pronounced heretical, but the Bull of Clement XI., published in 1713, against the 'Réflexions Morales,' condemned *one hundred and one propositions*, which, whether heretical or not, were undoubtedly found in Quesnel's book.

The acceptance of this Bull of Clement XI. (known as the *Unigenitus*) raised grave discussions in the Church of France. The Oratorians refused to sign the Bull, and it was not till after lengthy debates, which lasted till 1720 (five years after the death of Louis XIV.), that the negotiations in favour of a peaceful arrangement were terminated by what is known as the '*Corps de Doctrine*,' being a sort of commentary on the Bull.[2]

[1] See Dr. Neale on the 'So-called Jansenist Church.' The Dutch Jansenist Church has for a century and a half struggled against the constitution *Unigenitus*.

[2] The Papal Bull *Unigenitus* was so called from its opening words,

Its final acceptance was due to the influence of the infamous Abbé Dubois during the regency of the Duc d'Orleans, who, by his intrigues with the Cardinals, obtained from Pope Innocent XIII. the Cardinal's hat, so often refused to him by Clement XI. The disputes, nevertheless, between Jesuits and Jansenists continued, diminishing by slow degrees in importance.

Quesnel himself did not live to see the termination of the discussions caused by his work. He died in 1719 at Amsterdam.

His life for many years had been devoted to the building up of Jansenism in Holland, where it still flourishes, and, in the words of Dr. Neale, 'though cut off from the communion of Rome, it has clung to the Catholic faith, and suffered for the maintenance of primitive doctrine.'[1]

Quesnel's personal qualities endeared him to his friends. His extreme simplicity, gentleness, and tranquillity of mind were especially remarkable under the circumstances of his life. He was a man of the purest morality, and a scholar of no mean ability. His letters are full of cheerfulness as well as deep spirituality. In one of these he mentions that 'he always carried on the sword side the New Testament, "Gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei."' When he knew that death was near, he asked for the last sacraments. Feeble as he was, he knelt to receive the viaticum, and was given strength to remain kneeling even to the end. He then made his profession of faith and signed it, declaring that he died, as he had lived, in the communion and unity of the Catholic faith.

With Pasquier Quesnel we bring this volume to a close,

'Unigenitus Dei Filius.' It supported the Jesuits against the Jansenists in their opinions regarding Divine Grace.

1 See Preface to Dr. Neale's 'So-called Jansenist Church in Holland.'

he being the last of the Jansenists connected with Port-Royal.

A great French writer has said that 'in the battle of life the fight is worth more than the prize, the effort more than the result—the result having only value for a time, the effort being good for eternity.

'Port-Royal has perished in an abortive attempt to reform French Catholicism,' but, 'it has left imperishable marks of its existence in the grandeur of the characters it formed.'

On a summer's day in May 1887, the writer made a long-wished-for pilgrimage to Port-Royal-des-Champs with her husband. They had with them a sympathetic companion and guide in their friend, Père Hyacinthe Loyson,[1] to whom a modern French writer has accorded a place in his history of 'les derniers Jansénistes.'

Port-Royal is distant about eight miles from Versailles on the road to Dampierre. Rows of poplar-trees, so common on French high-roads, lined the wayside. After passing the dreary plain of Satory, the country assumed a less monotonous aspect.

Apple-trees took the place of poplars, and picturesque villages enlivened the route. Guyancourt, with its primitive little church, Voisins-le-Brétonneux, amid fruit-trees in full blossom; then having skirted the boundaries of Magny-les-Hameaux, after a drive of about an hour and a quarter, we reached the brow of a steep hill, which overlooks the valley of Port-Royal.

After descending the hill, a sharp turn brought us to a wooden gateway, and we entered within the precincts of the famous monastery. Vestiges of ruined walls, moss-grown and mouldering, were seen as we drove to the modern dwelling, inhabited by the Régisseur (M. Olivier).

[1] When, to the infinite sorrow and disappointment of his friends, Père Hyacinthe retired from the pulpit of Notre Dame, and renounced the brilliant career before him, that he might devote himself, unfettered, to his proposed reform in the Roman Catholic Church, he was undoubtedly at heart a Jansenist, and though afterwards his marriage cut him off from all chance of union with the Jansenist party, nevertheless we find him still cleaving to Jansenism and invoking the protection of a Jansenist Archbishop for his little Gallican Church in the Rue d'Arras in Paris. (See Léon Séché.)

Immediately before us rose the massive dovecot—the most prominent object on which the eye rests, and the only portion standing of the original buildings.

On either side of the road, cows and goats were together grazing. We left the carriage, and passing to the right, we soon arrived at the desecrated cemetery, the burial-ground of the nuns, from which last resting-place their bones were cast out, through the implacable enmity of Louis XIV.

An iron cross of simplest form, raised upon a few large stones, marks the once sacred enclosure.

It is overshadowed by the high-pitched roof of the dove-cot, a few yards off. As we looked towards it, a solitary dove flew across the burial-ground, recalling to us the words of the Psalmist, 'Oh, that I had wings as a dove, then would I flee away and be at rest'—words which must often have been uttered by the persecuted inmates of Port-Royal.

There is something pathetic in the solitude and profound stillness of the spot. Low crumbling walls and fragments of columns show the site of the church, which adjoined the cemetery. This sacred building is said to have been erected in the thirteenth century.

On a tablet let into the ruined wall are these lines, which, with the assistance of Père Hyacinthe, we decyphered:—

> 'Du plus saint temple, helas! quel deplorable reste,
> Un vieux mur est le seul qui rappelle à nos cœurs,
> Cette enceinte bénie, où le Père Céleste,
> Se forma tant de vraies et pures adorateurs.'
>
> . . . . . .

The remaining verses were illegible.

On the site of the high altar, the steps to which still

remain, a small building has been erected by the pious owner, the walls within are covered with portraits of the Port-Royal saints: Angélique Arnauld, and her sister Agnes, Saint-Cyran, the great Arnauld, Le Maître, De Saci, Blaise Pascal and his sister Jacqueline, Angélique de Saint-Jean, Tillemont, Nicole, and many others. There are also letters of the Port-Royalists in frames; amongst these is a note in pencil to one of the nuns from M. de Saint-Cyran. Close to the steps of the high altar is a curious old tombstone of early date, on which is chiselled the mitred head of a bishop, the name unknown. From this our way lay through a small meadow, where stands an old walnut-tree, still showing some signs of life, and known as 'le noyer de Pascal,' by whom it is said to have been planted.

Farther on, we were invited by the Régisseur to drink from a well called after the Mère Angélique, and roofed in and protected by lock and key. It was from this well that the nuns were debarred at a time of fierce persecution, when a guard of soldiers occupied the enclosure. We asked our guide whether many pilgrimages were now made to Port-Royal. He said the Sœurs de Sainte-Marthe [1]

[1] The Sœurs de Sainte-Marthe belong to an institution founded in 1713. They held Jansenist views, and, strange to say, were under the protection of the Cardinal de Noailles, the persecutor of the Port-Royal Sisterhood. The work of the Sœurs de Sainte-Marthe was amongst the sick poor. They were without vows, but they elected a Superior, and had novices. The Revolution dispersed all religious communities, and amongst them that of the Sœurs de Sainte-Marthe. In 1801 the Sisters were re-united, and by an Imperial decree in 1810 they were restored, and allowed to serve the principal Paris hospitals. But at the end of the second Empire the hospitals were taken from them and given to lay nurses. They were no longer allowed to recruit their number by novices, and they have now dwindled down to a very few, who live in a small house in the village of Magny-les-Hameaux, where they hold a school for the poor children around. The first white house in the village is that of the Sœurs de Sainte-Marthe. See 'Les Derniers Jansénistes' (Léon Séché).

made a yearly pilgrimage: the only other visitors being the members of the 'Société de Saint-Antoine,' to whom the property belongs. They are strict Jansenists, and live in Paris in absolute retirement.

On the crest of the hill, through an opening in the wooded heights, we caught a glimpse of the farm of 'Les Granges,' where the recluses retired on the return of the nuns to the monastery. We ascended the hill to the farm, but all in vain; no one is allowed to enter 'Les Granges' without a special permission.

Ruined, desolate, and forlorn, the aspect of Port-Royal is very melancholy. It seems haunted by the remembrance of a great crime, but, on the other hand, it teems with holy associations and hallowed memories. We left the place with regret, touched and subdued by the thought of the saints of God, whose lives have made Port-Royal famous, and who being found 'faithful unto death,' have received the promised 'Crown of Life.'

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